

**THIS BOOK IS
WITH TEARED
PAGES**

236 J12

Keep Your Card in This Pocket

Books will be issued only on presentation of proper library cards.

Unless labeled otherwise, books may be retained for four weeks. Borrowers finding books marked, defaced or mutilated are expected to report same at library desk; otherwise the last borrower will be held responsible for all imperfections discovered.

The card holder is responsible for all books drawn on his card.

Penalty for over-due books 2c a day plus cost of notices.

Lost cards and change of residence must be reported promptly.



PUBLIC LIBRARY
Kansas City, Mo.

Keep Your Card in this Pocket



3 1148 00287 6027

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS



MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED

LONDON • BOMBAY • CALCUTTA

MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

NEW YORK • BOSTON • CHICAGO

DALLAS • SAN FRANCISCO

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.

TORONTO

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS

BY

H. LATIMER JACKSON, D.D.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1913

COPYRIGHT

VIRO · ADMODVM · REVERENDO
CHVRCHILL · IVLIO
SACRAE · THEOLOGIAE · PROFESSORI
IN · NOVA · ZEALANDIA · EPISCOPO · DE · CHRISTCHVRCH
A · PVERIS · AMICO · CARISSIMO
HOC · OPVS · QVALECVMQVE
DEDICO

PREFACE.

IF it be of custom and not of obligation that Hulsean Lectures are printed, it is certainly unusual that they should elude discovery in their published form ; and hence I would say at once of the four statutory "sermons" delivered by me in the Michaelmas and Lent terms of the academical year last past that they are herein embedded in a piece of work which, at the time already long in hand, was freely utilized in their preparation. Speaking generally, my Lectures were made up of excerpts compacted together from material which at length has shaped itself in some sort into a book.

To pass from explanation, not to say apology, to some remarks which, slightly modified and expanded, I transfer to these pages from the place they originally occupied further on as an appended Note.

It is, I take it, a commonplace of criticism which differentiates between substantially genuine Sayings of Jesus and Sayings placed in His lips by the piety of the infant Church. As will be observed in due course, I have not been slow to illustrate it ; here I pause on the fact that, in the case of Sayings which turn more particularly on what to-day is really the live issue in Gospel-study, the Eschatological Question, the process of differentiation is carried by some

scholars to extreme limits. The classical instance is, perhaps, Wellhausen;¹ others, less ruthless, are on the same track, nor is it always to lag very far behind; now here and now there "a tendency in the early Church to conform" our Lord's "teaching more closely to Apocalyptic standards" is discovered and insisted on if with variety of diction and unequal stress. In short, the attempt to reduce His genuine Eschatological utterances to a minimum—let me add, to explain them away—is by no means infrequent in present-day controversy.

Now, the borrowed words are those of Mr. Streeter.² At the time they were penned he was, judging from the context, inclined to go a long way with those who would make large deductions; he was nevertheless constrained to write: "It is too great a paradox to maintain that what was so central in the belief of the Primitive Church was not present, at least in germ, in what the Master taught."³ Once more the welcomed Essayist—and offering his more matured convictions—he alludes, I notice, to earlier conclusions as "somewhat too sweeping"; I find him significantly adding: "The Eschatological teaching of our Lord is a simpler, wider, and greater thing than ordinary Jewish Apocalyptic, but for myself I am coming more and more to feel that to water down and explain away the Apocalyptic element is to miss something which is essential."⁴

¹ Knopf, *Zukunftshoffnungen des Urchristentums*, p. 16.

² *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, p. 424. Cf. Emmet, *Eschatological Question*, pp. 54 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

⁴ *Foundations*, pp. 112, 119.

In like manner with myself. I seem, indeed, to become aware of resemblances between Mr. Streeter's frank admission and words set down by me long before his Essay could come into my hands.¹ But let me briefly indicate my own position.

It may be that, of the recorded Eschatological Sayings, there are relatively few which can be referred with certainty to Jesus; they surely go far to guarantee others to the like effect. His own well-attested "Watch" is in itself significant. And again, the designation The Son of Man is, it would appear, genuine in the lips of Jesus; if so, His use of the phrase is tantamount to proof that He shared conceptions which the phrase connotes. Yet further, an appeal lies, I am persuaded, to the Fourth Gospel. Whatever may be urged to the contrary² I hold it true that "the simple Apocalyptic faith of Primitive Christianity is gently but decisively dealt with" by its author, and that, while "the Parousia remains," it is "only an otiose feature in his system."³ At the same time I cannot but attach significance to the survival in that Gospel (remarked on by Jülicher) of the "old terminology";⁴ to the manner of its representation. And I am led to argue thus: as with the designation The Son of Man—which, albeit generally in disuse, the Evangelists are constrained by the

¹ See pp. 339, 345, 349 f.

² Schlatter, *N.T. Theologie*, pp. 126 f.; B. Weiss, *Das Johannes-evangelium als einheitliches Werk erklärt*, p. 264.

³ Inge, *C.B.E.*, p. 257. Cf. Knopf, *Zukunftshoffnungen*, p. 43; Barth, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 184; Jülicher, *Einführung*, p. 358.

⁴ Which, according to Hitchcock (*A Fresh Study of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 16), "is wanting"!

evidence to refer to Jesus—so here : if Eschatological Sayings be found in the lips of the Johannine Christ, it is precisely because the historic Jesus had actually been wont so to speak.

It is from considerations such as these that, declining to go the lengths of Albert Schweitzer and not in entire agreement with Johannes Weiss, I am nevertheless disposed to make no small room for, and to emphasize, the Eschatological element in our Lord's teaching. I cannot explain it away.

Whether I have seized on that which is "essential" in it is quite another matter. I am conscious of misgiving which goes near to merge in doubt. Let me add that, in no way satisfied with my work as a whole—offspring of that prolonged yet inadequate research which is in itself (as Haupt so truly said) a sharp discipline in the school of modesty¹—I would be first to recognize its shortcomings and defects.

And here I would express my regret that my book had gone to press before I had the opportunity of consulting the magnificent work (*The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*) which Dr. Charles—"in conjunction with many scholars"—has now given to the world.

It remains for me, albeit solely responsible for the contents of my book, to reckon up a debt of gratitude. Much might be said, were this the place to say it, of help, varied and constant, which has been rendered by my wife. I would thank Miss Alice Gardner, of Newnham College, Cambridge, for valuable hints and suggestions, and it is in part due to her kindness that faults and blemishes are not more conspicuous than,

¹ *Die Eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu*, p. iii.

I am afraid, is still the case. Another well-known Cambridge name at once occurs to me, but here it shall suffice to say that I have long owed much to him who bears it. Such as it is my book tells its own tale of continued indebtedness to German scholarship on the part of one who can never be unmindful of those highly-prized friendships which bind him to the "Fatherland" as to a second home.

LITTLE CANFIELD RECTORY,
ESSEX, *October, 1913.*

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY.

"A time in which to live and think—and to be young," 1-3. Social and political phenomena; outstanding features in the religious history of the modern world, 3, 4. Theological research, 5. Consequent unrest, aloofness, 5-7. Ground of apprehension in regard to the Church, 7, 8. The subject of present inquiry stated; standpoint from which approached, 9. Eschatology in by-gone controversy, 10, 11. And in present-day critical research, 12, 13. Line of procedure to be followed in this inquiry, 13, 14.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOURCES FOR THE LIFE OF JESUS.

Traditional theories of the Gospels, 15, 16. Some results of Gospel criticism, 17-24. The Synoptic Gospels, 17-20. The Fourth Gospel, 21, 22. Mark and Q the earliest sources, 23, 24. Recorded Sayings of Jesus, 24-33. Processes of transmission, 25-29. And translation, 29, 30. No question of *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, 30. Where the ground is relatively safe; substantially genuine utterances, 31, 32. With shrinkage of material the "Biography" of Jesus has become impracticable, 33. The "Hat Jesus gelebt?" controversy abroad and at home, 34. Sufficient evidence for the historical existence of Jesus, 35, 36.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS.

Preliminary considerations and main headings, 37-39. The Kingdom (Reign) of God, its impending advent, as central feature in the proclamation of Jesus, 39-40. Present evil age and future good age,

expectation of signs, portents, etc., 40, 41. Ambiguity of conception; Lk. xvii. 21 notwithstanding, the Kingdom primarily conceived of as future, 42-44. Conditions and qualifications relative to membership in the Kingdom; note of universalism, and of pessimism, 44-46. The Kingdom to be brought in by God, yet not so as to exclude human effort, 46, 47. Question of locality; the "When" God's secret, 47-49. Concerning Resurrection; absolute uniformity of conception not met with, 50-54. And Judgment; contrast between Jesus and the Baptist, 54-56. Who are to be judged and on what will the Judgment turn? 56, 57. The Hereafter for the Righteous, for the Wicked, 57-59. The rôle assigned by Jesus to Himself in the drama of The Last Things, 59-111. Discussion of significant designations; Christ, 60-65. Son of David, 65-71. Son of Man, 71-86. Son of God, 86-96. What appears to have been present in the mind of Jesus, 96-106. Summary of His beliefs and conceptions relative to The Last Things generally, 106-111.

CHAPTER III.

OLD TESTAMENT ESCATOLOGY.

The Canon of the Old Testament, 112. Recognition of a contrast; while the four Gospels fall within a period of about half a century, the Old Testament writings extend over more than a thousand years; instead of the one personage (Jesus), many men and many minds, 113-117. Line of inquiry, 117-118. Amos, the man and his message, 118-121. What to be gleaned from the Book of Amos, 120-123. Consequent research into earlier material, critical methods generally, 123-127. Significance of the Elijah-stories, 127, 128. The "Royal" Psalm (2 Sam. vii. 1-29), 128-130. The Book of the Covenant (Ex. xx. 22-xxiii. 33), 130, 131. The Song of Deborah (Jud. v.), 131, 132. General reflexions, 132, 133. From the days of Amos onwards, 133-170. Hosea, 134-136. Isaiah of Jerusalem, composite nature of the Book of Isaiah, conclusions drawn from passages which may be referred to Isaiah himself, 137-142. Micah; triplet of prophecies which bear the names of Zephaniah, Nahum, and Habakkuk, 142. The Fall of the Northern Kingdom, and that of Judah; "the Jews"; the Exile, 143, 144. Jeremiah, his personality and features presented by the Book of Jeremiah; gist of oracles referred by criticism to the prophet, 144-148. Ezekiel, and the Book of Ezekiel; selected passages in their significance, 148-152. "Deutero-Isaiah" and the "Songs on the Servant of Jahve", 152-157. The Return; Ezra and Nehemiah, 157-158. Haggai, 158.

159. Zechariah, 159-160. "Malachi," 160, 161. "Trito-Isaiah" and the probably late section Amos ix. 9-15, 161, 162. Joel, 162, 163. Survey and general conclusions, 163-168. Conceptions of the Davidic King, 168, 169; who recedes into the background; prominence attaches to the Kingdom of God, 169, 170.

CHAPTER IV.

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.

Historical survey, 171, 172. Features of the period; angelology, the far-off God, 172-174. Prophetical literature succeeded by the Apocalypse, 174. Preliminary notice of Apocalyptic literature, 174-177. The Apocalyptic element present in the Old Testament; as *e.g.* in Ezekiel, 177, 178; in Daniel, 178-181; and in the section Isai. xxiv.-xxvii., 181-184, which, like Daniel, recognizes claims of the individual with doctrine of Resurrection, 183, 184; and in the section Zech. ix.-xiv., 184-187. Jewish Apocalyptic outside the Canon, 187-241. The "Ethiopic" Enoch, its composite nature, 187, 188. Section i.-xxxvi., 188-190. Section lxxxiii.-xc., 190-192. Section xci.-civ., 192-194. Section xxxvii.-lxx. (the Similitudes), 194-198. Remarks on the phrase "Son of Man," 198-200. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 200-202; excerpts, 202-207; and main features, 207-209. The Book of Jubilees, 209-211; excerpts, 211-215; new elements presented, 215, 216. The Psalms of Solomon, 216, 217; Pss. i.-xvi., 217-224; Pss. xvii., xviii., 224-227. The Sibylline Oracles, 227, 228; outline of contents, 228, 229; Messianic significance, 230. The Assumption of Moses, 231-233; special features, 233-235. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch (the "Slavonic" Enoch), 235; excerpts, 235-239; and main points, 240, 241. Foot-note reference to the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Ascension of Isaiah, the Fourth Book of Ezra (2nd Esdr.), and the Revelation of John, 241, 242. First impressions of Jewish Apocalyptic generally, 242, 243; in part justified, 243; yet only in part; *Leitmotif* and true grandeur of this literature, 243-246. New features; Angelology, 246. Demonology, 247. Dualism, 248. Resurrection, 249. Universalism, world-judgment, 249, 250. Ethical ideas and interests, 250. The Davidic King, 250. The super-human Messiah, 251, 252. Comparative religion; foreign elements; Jewish Apocalyptic a product of religious syncretism, 252-254. The Messiah not a constant figure; Hopes which centre on a Reign of God, 254.

CHAPTER V.

IN THE DAYS OF JESUS.

Nature and scope of inquiry, 255, 256. The Lucan Introduction, 256. Examination of the *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, 257-259; their origin, 259-261; and significance, 261. The Matthaean story of the Magi, 262. Points on which contemporary Judaism is in general agreement, 262, 263. Yet variety of conception, 264. Attitude in regard to Roman rule; Sadducees, Pharisees, the Zealots, the "quiet in the land," 265. Ideas relative to participation in a new Kingdom of the Jews, 266, 267. Conceptions of the Judgment, 267; and of Resurrection, 268-270. Scene of the Kingdom, 270. The lot of the Righteous and the fate of the Wicked, 270-273. Diversity of conception in regard to Messianic King, 273-282. The purely human ruler, 275-277. The "Eschatological," super-human, Messiah, 277-279. And this latter (his features being transferred to a given personage) figures in the New Testament, 279, 280. Inherited conceptions in the Christology of Paul, 280, 281. No official doctrine of the Messiah, 282.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS AND THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JUDAISM.

Preliminary retrospect, 283, 284. The comparison necessarily instituted, 284. Twelve points on which Jesus and Judaism (generally) are in formal agreement, 284-286. And, in regard to some, not merely agreement in form, 286, 287. Yet even so questions suggested, 287. John the Baptist is, with Jesus, the Elijah of popular expectation, 287. Discussion focussed on the two main points, the Kingdom and the Messiah, 287-308. The Kingdom: by whom to be brought in, 288, 289. Whether its coming may be hastened, 289. Membership in it; respective conceptions as to the Righteous, 289-291. The question ultimately that of Righteousness as conceived of by Jesus and by Judaism, 291-296. "Pharisaism," 291. Two distinct streams of tendencies in contemporary Jewish life, 293-295. The comparison one between Jesus and a spiritually-minded (prophetic) Judaism, 294. Contrasts in degree, 294. Wherein Jesus is, perhaps, *sui generis*, 295. Once more: Who are the Righteous, 296. Universal elements present

in the mind of Jesus, 297. The Hereafter for the Righteous and the Wicked, 298, 299. Destined scene of the Reign of God, 299; possibility of two horizons, 300. Summary of discussion relative to the Kingdom, 300-302. The Messiah; Points common to Jesus and Judaism, 302-305. Comparison in regard to conceptions of the Davidic King, 304, 305. And of the "Eschatological" Messiah, 305, 306. The parting of the ways, 306. Claims advanced by Jesus and coupled with announcement of suffering and death, 306-309. Summary, 309, 310. What is, perhaps, a burden to Jesus Himself not only disallowed by but altogether foreign to the mind of Judaism, 310, 311.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PERSON OF JESUS.

In previous allusion Jesus a certain Palestinian Jew, 312. The description, as far as it goes, accurate; not necessarily adequate; already ground for question: Who and What was Jesus? 313. The question in successive stages of the Church's life and prominent in modern critical research, 313, 314. "The problem of the Person of Christ" and its two-fold significance, 314, 315. The historical Jesus is real man, 316. Unquestionably an august personage, 317-319. No enthusiast and more than the genius, 320. The "abnormal" in Jesus which has eluded definition, 321. His elusiveness suggests inability to define Himself, 322. This does not apply to the Johannine Christ, 322. Yet true of the Synoptic Jesus, 323, 324. Who becomes a problem to Himself, 325. Significance of Lk. xii. 50: "straitened," 325-327. The Saying as to "fresh wine-skins" for "new wine" may point to a personal experience, 328. A "Doppelseitigkeit" to be reckoned with, 328. Room for an exalted Christology, 328, 329. Yet the real manhood, 329. Career in outline of "Jesus of Nazareth," 330-333. He who is "Lord" is "a man approved of God," 333, 334. Of the terminology of His message and claims, 334. The transitory soon recognized as such, 334-336. Jesus the "Sower" of His own parable, 337.

CHAPTER VIII.

HUSK AND KERNEL.

The real Jesus and what He may have to say to the modern world, 338, 339. His Eschatology wears the garb of its own period, which is

not our period, 340-343. Significance of Hebr. viii. 13, 344. And of the attitude of the Fourth Evangelist; what he recognizes, does, essays to do, 345-348. Hence, within limits, he serves as guide, 348. Difficulty begins with the search after the permanent element, dangers involved in attempt to state it, 348, 349. Grounds of conviction that there must be something essential in the Eschatology of Jesus, 349, 350. The main idea: the ultimate triumph of the cause of God, 350. Considerations suggested by the idea, 351, 352. There is a goal, 353, 354. Present duty: the "Follow Me" of Him who significantly assigns to Himself an exalted rôle, 354-356.

CHAPTER IX.

ESCHIATOLOGICAL SURVIVALS IN THE CREEDS.

Grave considerations which turn on the survival of old embodiments of the Eschatological idea, 357. In Hymnodies, 357. In the Prayer-Book generally, 358. And, in particular, in the historic Creeds, 359, 360. The question of fidelity to Christian conscience, 360. Absence of difficulty in the case of Hymns, 360, 361. Liberty of interpretation in regard to the Church's formularies as a whole, clerical "subscription" (footnote), 361, 362. The *crux* begins with the Creeds, 363, and not by any means at the clauses now in question, 366. The so-called "Athanasian Creed" ruled out of consideration, 363, 364. An "Entweder — oder!" which points in particular to the Nicene and Apostles' Creeds, 364-367. Examination of the position; Article viii.; significant question in the Ordinal, 367-369. The Creeds as viewed from the standpoint of liberal—yet loyal—opinion, 370-372. Hesitation occasioned by the individualized "I believe," 372. Detailed survey of existing circumstances and conditions, anticipations relative to Creeds revised or no longer needed, 373-375. The question being of time present, difficulty which points from individuals to the Church itself, 375. Attitude which—in and because of existing circumstances—appears to be legitimate; footnote allusion to question of legal proceedings, 375, 376. Concluding remarks, 376, 377.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONTRACTIONS.

Hastings' <i>Dictionary of the Bible</i>	- - - -	D.B.
„ <i>Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels</i>	- -	D.C.G.
<i>Encyclopaedia Biblica</i>	- - - -	E.B.
<i>Century Bible</i>	- - - -	C.B.
<i>Religion in der Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (edited by Schiele)	- - - -	R.G.G.
<i>Handbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>	- - - -	H.B.N.T.
<i>Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament</i>	- - -	H.C.N.T.
<i>Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments</i> (edited by Joh. Weiss)	- - - -	S.N.T.
<i>Die Schriften des Alten Testaments</i> (Gressmann, Gunkel, etc.)	- - - -	S.A.T.
Wellhausen, <i>Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte</i> (sixth ed.)	- - - -	I.J.G.
Schürer, <i>History of the Jewish People</i>	- - - -	H.J.P.
<i>Biblische Zeitfragen</i>	- - - -	B.Z.
<i>Cambridge Biblical Essays</i>	- - - -	C.B.E.
<i>Cambridge Theological Essays</i>	- - - -	C.T.E.
<i>Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem</i>	- - -	O.S.S.P.
<i>Oxford Congress of History of Religions</i> (Report of)	-	O.C.H.R.
<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>	- - - -	J.T.S.
<i>Hibbert Journal</i>	- - - -	H.J.
The <i>Expositor</i>	- - - -	Exp.
The Septuagint	- - - -	LXX.
The Synoptic Gospels	- - - -	S.G.
Einleitung	- - - -	Einl.
Evangelium	- - - -	Evglm.
Introduction	- - - -	Intr.

N.B.—In the case of a foreign work being cited by an English title the reference is to the English translation thereof, and this applies to instances in which the title is the same in both languages; e.g. the *Jesus* of Bousset and the *Jesus* of Arno Neumann.

INTRODUCTORY.

"AN age full to bursting of great ideas and seemingly limitless possibilities." Such, we are told, were the earlier decades of the last century ; nor is the description less apt if transferred to the modern world. Later thinkers have "transformed the spirit of philosophy"; "indications of the social movement" now in progress are not far to seek ; once more "science has started into new life" ; that every day is "antiquating more and more of the opinions which had seemed most firmly established" who shall deny ? In every province and department of human affairs there is a throb and stir which make men realize, with Heraclitus, that all things are in a state of flux. We are conscious of a stimulating effect ;—our own time is "indeed a time in which to live and think—and to be young"—"young," if not in years, at any rate in the capacity for broadening sympathies and expanding interests.¹

"A time in which to live." Not merely to exist ; to feel the joy of living and to live our lives to the full.² "To live and think" : the idea suggested is of

¹ A. W. Robinson, *In Memoriam* (Edited by), pp. xii. f. And see Eucken, *Der Sinn und Wert des Lebens*, p. 45. The preceding pages are singularly to the point.

² *Non est vivere sed valere vita* (Terence).

knowledge earned by patient scrutiny of circumstances and conditions, of an activity which, starting from "the brain and will," declines to run to waste in "a merely external and superficial industry."¹ "To live and think—and to be young"—which surely means this: to enter heart and soul into all the manifoldness of human life; mindful that new needs require new helps, eager to render "Good Service to Mankind."²

It is good to live in such an age. Large indeed and varied are the demands made by it, in that it is so unmistakably a period of transition. We review the situation generally; it is at once to dwell on much which, testifying in a variety of ways to the accomplished good, is earnest of further progress in the right direction. Yet other features present themselves which, studied in their full significance, give rise to distrust and apprehension, and for this reason: they tell their own tale of unbalanced minds and thought undisciplined, of narrow outlooks, of poverty of aspirations. Stir, no doubt, is infinitely better than stagnation; it implies movement. If the movement suggest healthy development, well and good; but what if displacement, detachment, disintegration, be alone in evidence? The mere fact that changes are working themselves out in the social and political organism is in itself no ground of alarm;—only then we should be quick to differentiate between change and change; between modifications and permutations, on the one hand, which spring from the ripened intelligences of an enlightened people, and, on the other hand, reckless innovations which, born of in-

¹ J. R. Seeley, *Lectures and Essays*, p. 282.

² Benson, *Christ and His Times*, p. 25.

sensate cravings for novelty and of impatience of restraints and sanctions, tend rather to "pan-destruction" than to reconstruction. What we cannot but remark are failures to seize really vital issues; the trivial is confounded with the essential; assumptions are lightly made that whatever is old must, simply because it *is* old, be outworn and obsolete. Folly may clamour for the reversal of the time-honoured adage, "Look before you leap." Wisdom bids the man of heart, head, and hand be slow to move on himself—and to invite others to move on with him—until well assured that the movement will not be off the rails.

But this is to generalize. With the horizon, for the moment, widened, account has been taken of the many streams and currents of our own national life, of phenomena, social and political, equally perceptible when we look beyond the seas. Not less wide shall be the purview if, narrowing down the subject, we proceed to a survey of the situation in the world of religious thought and action. Similar is its aspect; similar the reflexions awakened by it. Marking progress we mark ground of apprehension. A warning note is struck;—*festina lente*.

What, we now ask, are some main features, outstanding facts, in the religious history of the modern world?

Things have been moving on apace. We institute a comparison; it is to reckon up many a change for the better which points back to what for our fathers was the "New Learning" of their own times. There is much to be thankful for; intellectual and spiritual burdens have been removed; as the lumber

of really outworn theories and systems has been cleared away, the path lies open for an advance in the right direction. The alleged "dangerous heresy" of but yesterday is the commonplace of to-day; we turn, it may be, to works which once set the religious world by the ears,¹ and it is to find that none but belated pietists could take exception to their contents. If not so long ago "German theology" was a very bugbear, the Bible-student now owns his indebtedness to the indefatigable industry, the profound thought, the conscientious love of knowledge, so characteristic of German scholars,² who are quite as prompt to tell of what they and their nation have gained from English literature, from theologians of Anglo-Saxon race.³ And again, of the Christian Church in all its comprehensiveness, it can be truly said that, in respect of enterprise and action, it has "started into new life." There is certainly a growing sense of solidarity; with higher ideals and a quickened perception of duty there is a more vigorous response; clergy and laity are directing their attention not simply to the alleviation of distress, the improvement of social conditions, but to the elevation of the man himself. Thus far Christianity, it might be said, is making good the claim once advanced for it:—"the most mutable of all things"⁴ in its adaptability to the changed and changing conditions of all human life.

¹ As, e.g. *Essays and Reviews*, *Eve Homo*, *Lux Mundi*.

² Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on the Apost. Age*, preface.

³ So Harnack, *Speech delivered in London*, 6th Feb., 1911: "Who can calculate what we owe to one another?" (Of German scholars generally it may be said that English theological literature has ceased to be treated by them as a negligible quantity.)

⁴ R. Rothe.

So far, so good—perhaps. There is another side to the picture ; and the serious thinker will refuse to shut his eyes to it. Along with features bright with encouragement and hope, there are others, of darker aspect, which tell us plainly enough that all is—not well. They stare us in the face.

Prodigious is the industry to be met with in every province and department of theological research. New problems are encountered ; problems not new become more complex as they are re-stated with a fuller perception of the issues ; with the increase of material and the widening of the field¹ strange phenomena present themselves, nor do they quickly lend themselves to co-ordination. If well authenticated results can be tabulated, open questions are many ; some of them, perhaps, will remain unsolved. The “working hypothesis” serves the turn of certainty ; resort is made to assumptions where adequate knowledge fails ; to-morrow may discredit the theory which to-day upholds. Genuinely scientific in its processes and methods, this critical research is at once fearless and restrained, high-principled, characterized by sobriety and sanity, content to hold its judgment in suspense, ever on the guard lest mere conjecture should masquerade as fact. It may be all this and more than this—the exceptions shall prove the rule. The question now is : What of the consequences which, directly or indirectly, may be traced back to it ?

Unquestionably one result is unrest, uncertainty, distress, bewilderment, in “religious circles.” If “the

¹ So as to include mythology, the comparative study of religions, anthropology, etc.

great authorities differ" small wonder that weaker minds are in doubt, or that disturbance should become distress should the conflict of opinion turn on grave matters; that seekers after present help and guidance should ask: To what purpose all this "play among² the shadows of an irrecoverable past" on the part of scholars? The expert—alive, indeed, to difficulties—may be able to pick his way with some degree of security; others, the non-specialists, find themselves on slippery ground. While the former is content to possess his soul in patience, the latter are too timorous to wait; they rush precipitately to unwarranted conclusions. By some "criticism" is regarded as an evil thing, calculated to rob them of all that they account most precious and to shatter faith; hence their irrational abhorrence of "the critic." With others the case is different; "an immense spiritual destitution"¹ is, most surely, the lot of many who, unable to come to terms with new results, sit ever looser to traditional beliefs if loath to break with long-accustomed habits. Half-hearted assent becomes tacit rejection; with the abandonment, it may be, of far more than the exigencies demand, the longing grows within them to replace the something lost with a something not yet found. There is point in the remark: "The predominance of an all-denying unbelief does but call forth a keener craving for belief."²

Again. The question is not alone of unrest and perplexity inside the Christian Church; let it now be remarked that there is another, and an increasing,

¹ Cf. Toynbee, *Industrial Revolution (Memoir)*, p. xxiii.

² F. C. Baur.

class of people who steadily refuse to identify themselves with any sort or form of organized Christian life. The "masses" remain outsiders. Of a coarsely aggressive hostility to religion which exults at myth exploded and superstition banished, there may be less than is commonly supposed ; indifference is far more in evidence ; taking them all round, British artisans may approve the humanitarianism of modern Christian enterprise, but what in large numbers they positively decline to do is to have any part or lot in Christian worship. Nor do they stand alone ; their attitude is exactly paralleled—as at home so abroad—in every stratum of the social organism. But lately has it been said : "During the last half century the outstanding fact in the religious history of the chief nations of Western Europe has been the growing indifference and hostility shown towards orthodox Christianity by men of culture and learning and intelligence."¹ The barbed assertion hits the mark ; it holds good of men in every rank and walk of life. Irreligious men of necessity they most certainly are not. Sincerely religious men, many of them, they repudiate the dogmatic systems on which traditional Christianity is based.

There is something in all this which is surely disastrous for the Church itself. It is near enough to the truth that, the question being of the rank and file, "the dominant creed finds its chief support in the middle class, those Philistines on whom Matthew Arnold poured increasing scorn";² to turn to the Church's ministry, there is still point in what was once said as to a drainage of intellectual vigour and

¹ Chawner, *Prove all Things*, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

"nervous, anxious, minds."¹ High is the standard of the clergy in respect of personal life and self-sacrificing zeal; why, then, is it still, and by general admission, not nearly high enough in regard to intellectual capacity and attainment? The really first-class man, it is said, is comparatively rare; his position and environment may be such as to stifle aspirations and to cramp independent thought; with official hints as to offending the "weak brother" he too easily resorts to a policy of silence when he has that in him which might help "the strong."² And so it comes about that, with frequent cavil at the "ineptitudes of ecclesiastical debate," complaint is often made that the readjustments urged or demanded are not so much concerned with really vital issues as with matters of relatively small importance. Revision, if deprecated here and blocked there, is in the air. The question with some is: Will it go to the root of the matter? Will it distinguish between kernel and husk, between that which is not only archaic but obsolete and that which is of lasting significance?³ Or will it simply illustrate that "false reverence for formulæ, symbols, rites, and institutions" which cannot but fossilize and imprison truth?⁴

To sum up. Looking to the sphere of religious thought and action, our age teems with absorbing

¹ J. R. Seeley, *Natural Religion*, p. 136. Yet by no means in the bitter complaint as to the type of man who took Orders once raised by Mr. Frederic Harrison in what he himself described as "This violent letter" (*Autobiographical Memoirs*, i. pp. 144, 147).

² Cf. Kautzsch, *Das sogenannte Apos. Glaubensbekenntnis* (Vorträge), p. v.

³ Cf. *Prayer Book Revision—a Plea for Thoroughness*.

⁴ Cf. Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, i. p. x.

interests. Features are apparent which, evidencing the throb and stir of movement, are at once ground of thankfulness and stimulus to larger effort. We dwell on outstanding facts;—"the trouble that is in the air"¹ becomes very real; the distress of the "weak," the unrest of stronger souls, the passive or active revolt of keen intellects, are salutary warnings against an easy optimism. But we decline point-blank to be pessimists. Again we say of our own age that it is "a time in which to live and think—and to be young." The question for one and all is this: What can be done to satisfy its needs?

Thus much by way of leading up to a subject which, bound up with the Person of Him who is sometimes spoken of as "the Church's Founder," is equally bound up with ancient formularies and official declarations of the Church's faith: The Eschatology of Jesus.

What must be said of the subject? That it is an intricate, a difficult, a delicate subject is beyond question; be it added that it is one in which the transitory and the permanent will be found in combination as the very wide field is explored, and the long and winding road travelled. What, then, of the standpoint from which it shall be approached and studied? Let it be a settled thing that, however useful it may be to take the Catholic Faith as received and then to disencumber, re-interpret, restate it, the main concern is that truth—old or newly apprehended—should be corner-stone and fabric of creeds proposed or professed.

"Eschatology." The "long and rather ugly

¹ *Lux Mundi*, p. 3.

word"¹ is derived from the Greek;² it means the discourse, the science, doctrine, study, which is concerned with The Last Things. Hence by the "Eschatology of Jesus" it is natural to understand the beliefs and conceptions and doctrines relative to The Last Things which may be traceable to Jesus. The question being of "Credal Statements" we are led to ask: What is said about The Last Things in those official declarations of Faith which are called the Creeds, and in other formularies of the Church? What, precisely, are The Last Things indicated by our subject?

An answer might come from the headings of a familiar hymn. Death, Judgment, Heaven, Hell;—such being The Last Things therein enumerated, thought is mainly concentrated, it might appear, on the death-hour of individual human beings and of that which awaits them at death:—"bliss unending," or "eternity of woe." But the ground is not yet covered; with a rapid glance at Creeds and formularies the vista so widens as to awaken thought of

One far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.³

We read of a "Last Day," of "the end of the world," while mention is made of One who, having come already, is to come again, and Who, as Judge, will then pronounce sentence on "the quick and the dead"; on those who are "alive and remain," on those who shall rise "with their bodies" in a "general

¹ Sanday, *Life of Christ in Modern Research*, p. 46.

² ἔσχατος, utmost, extreme, last; λόγος, a word, science, study, doctrine.

³ Tennyson, *In Memoriam*.

resurrection." It is said of some that they "go away into everlasting fire," of others that they "go into everlasting life." A "Kingdom" is to be established; it is expressly said of it that it "shall have no end."

But these Credal statements will be examined, with fulness of quotation, later on, and at this juncture the nature of The Last Things to which the word Eschatology to-day points us requires consideration.

Points us *to-day*. Let it be said in passing that our subject has had, in successive periods, a strange fascination for the minds of men, and that it has prompted beliefs and conceptions, predictions and demonstrations, of which it is nothing short of true that they positively riot in the extravagant and the grotesque. Of these more, perhaps, hereafter; it is here necessary to accentuate the difference between Eschatology in comparatively recent controversy and in modern critical research.

We retrace our steps by some thirty years. Then it was that a storm was raised by a course of sermons preached in Westminster Abbey by a dignitary of the Church who is still widely read,¹ and published under the title of *Eternal Hope*. A great scholar and divine² at once joined issue with the views therein set forth; his sermon on *Everlasting Punishment* was followed by a work entitled: *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment*; others, learned and unlearned, rushed into the fray; sharply divergent opinions were vented in impassioned, sometimes intemperate, language. The point to fix on is this: the question then turned mainly if not exclusively on

¹ Dr. Farrar.

² Dr. Pusey.

the After Death. Is man's destiny once for all determined? Must "lost souls" remain "lost" through all eternity, or is there place of repentance and amendment in the life beyond the grave? What warrant, if any, is there for trusting, however faintly, "the larger hope"?

Such, generally speaking, were the questions eschatological of a generation ago.¹ The subject, in most quarters, was narrowed down to a single issue. The points of difference lay mainly in the region of interpretation.

Returning to our own day we remark a wider range, a changed standpoint. Diversity of interpretation is still with us, but it goes far deeper; historical research into the subject matter is minuter. The student asks: what is really traceable to Jesus?—on the assumption, it is sometimes added, that there was ever any Jesus at all;—what to the beliefs and conceptions of the primitive Church? He goes on to scrutinize the doctrine (or doctrines) of earlier and later Judaism; inquiry is pushed further back still: the question then is of foreign influences which may have left their mark on Judaism, on One who was Himself a Jew, on primitive Christianity when brought into contact with the outer world; the appeal is from Old and New Testaments to a mass of literature which is the "find" of comparatively recent years. As attention is once more turned to Jesus, the question of originality is raised; to what extent, it is asked, is He child of His own age and nation, sharer of contemporary beliefs and expectations, dependent

¹ Allusion might also be made to the controversy raised by Mivart's articles.

on a variety of sources for predictions which, in their outward form, at any rate, remain unfulfilled.

In short, the Eschatology of Jesus, the Eschatology which survives in Creeds and formularies, is to-day in the crucible of that critical research which, rigid in its methods, is resolute to apply its tests.

The outlook is an anxious one. What if old beliefs be discredited by new results? What if, before long, the ground will have so shifted beneath our feet that, while familiar landmarks vanish, the extended landscape wear a strange and forbidding aspect? Prepared as we ought to be to "accept movement as the law both of Churches and of States"¹ we should take heart of grace in the prospect of impending change. The change may mean real progress. If so, we are bound to welcome it. If resistance be made at all, it will be then and there only when truth itself is at stake.

It is just here that Robert Browning has some great words for us :

This imports solely, man should mount on each
New height in view ; the help whereby he mounts,
The ladder-rung his foot has left, may fall,
Since all things suffer change save God the Truth.²

It will be convenient that, in bringing this introductory chapter to a close, the lines on which inquiry will be conducted should be generally indicated.

The Eschatology of Jesus. Such being the subject it shall be our first business to inquire as to the Sources of the Life of Jesus. The question being of

¹ J. R. Seeley, *Lectures and Essays*, p. 255.

² *A Death in the Desert*.

the Eschatology of Jesus, accordingly of His recorded utterances, we shall dwell on questions relating to their transmission ; then, appealing to Narrative or Saying which bears the hall-mark of substantial genuineness, we shall arrive at some general conclusions as to the beliefs and opinions of Jesus in regard to The Last Things. From a survey of the Eschatology of Jesus in its main features we shall pass to the Old Testament and thence to Apocalyptic literature ; a review of Messianic beliefs and expectations current in Our Lord's day will naturally suggest a comparison between the Eschatology of contemporary Judaism and that of Jesus. A chapter will then be devoted to "the problem of the Person of Christ" ;¹ it will be followed by an attempt to differentiate between the transitory and the permanent elements of an Eschatology which points to One who, if human and divine, both spoke in the language and shared the conceptions of a remote antiquity. Nor will it be out of place if our inquiry closes with some reflexions occasioned by eschatological survivals in the Church's Creeds.

¹ A. W. Robinson, *Are we making Progress?* p. 19.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOURCES FOR THE LIFE OF JESUS.

WHAT is really known about Jesus?

A question which does not now turn on the Personality of Jesus. It simply amounts to this: What information have we respecting Him; whence is it derived; what is its quality? In other words, to what authorities can we go with confidence for records of His earthly life? Records in the form of narrative, of the spoken word.

The question shall be discussed under two headings. In the first place, it suggests inquiry as to the earliest sources for the life of Jesus generally; in its second division it turns in particular on the recorded Sayings. A final point will be that in the Jesus of narrative and discourse we have to do with a real historical personage and no mere creation of poetic fancy.

I. *The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus.*

We have resort, as a matter of course, to the New Testament. Not, indeed, to the New Testament as a whole; if one and all the writings contained in it find a more or less constant theme in Jesus, the fact

remains that many of them—whether penned by eye-witnesses or not—are not records; rather do they illustrate the influences of Jesus as reflected by minds of very diverse type. We accordingly single out just those which purport to relate events. They are the four Gospels. What must be said about them?

A preliminary question arises; what has been said of them, and how are they even now regarded in certain quarters?

It need scarcely be said that traditional theories are still in the field. Unhesitatingly accepted, held to be—in the strictest sense of the word—historical from the first page to the last, the Gospels are as unhesitatingly attributed to the men whose names they bear. They are accounted divinely inspired works; no room is found in them for any distinctively human element; their respective authors are conceived of as passive agents, living pens held and guided by an Almighty hand. An equal value is attached to them. Differences, if admitted, are minimized or explained away; where the authors appear to tell the same story the question, it is said, is in reality of similar, yet different, events. The harmonist works his will on them. They are made to lend themselves to the complete and circumstantial “Biography” of Jesus.

Such, in rough outline, is the traditional theory of the Gospels. In its cruder form it is still dear to many a devout soul who reminds us of Cowper's Cottager: “content to know no more, her Bible true.” It also meets us, if in varied form, in works undoubtedly characterized by the learning of their day.¹

¹ As, e.g., Farrar's *Life of Christ*, which, with all its defects, is scarcely the “farrago of falsehood, absurdity, and charlatany” of F. C.

A day, however, which is not our own day. To enumerate some well-established results of recent Gospel criticism.

And first. In our Gospels we now recognize four specimens of a class of literature at one time highly popular and widely circulated. As the many Gospels¹ were subjected to such tests as the age could apply—and to say this is not of necessity to deny a divine guidance—four remained masters of the field; the approved, canonized, specimens of an extensive Gospel-literature. We compare them with other extant writings of the same class; and at once we allow the tact, the wisdom, which, in the processes of selection and rejection, made final choice of those which are far and away the best.

A second point. In sharp contrast with other writings of the same class, our four Gospels are in sharp contrast as between themselves; they illustrate a diversity of type which was emphatically recognized in ancient times. "John," the "spiritual Gospel" of Clement of Alexandria,² stands by itself apart; in many respects it is singularly unlike its three companions. They, "Matthew," "Mark," and "Luke"—for convenience' sake we will designate them by their familiar names—are as unmistakably sister-works; for this very reason they are commonly spoken of as the "Synoptic" Gospels.

Now it is allowed on all sides that the Synoptic Gospels are continually in an agreement which extends from range of content to order of arrangement,

Conybeare's contemptuous allusion (*Myth, Magic, and Morals*, p. 140); Didon's *Jesus Christ*.

¹ Cf. Lk. i. 1-4.

² Eusebius, H.E. vi. 14.

from style to substance, from form to verbal coincidence. It is equally agreed—it was recognized in very early days—that there are points of difference not less numerous and quite as strange. Now the Synoptists go hand in hand, and now they part company. They fall out with one another. Discrepancy becomes downright contradiction.¹ In short, the admixture of likeness and unlikeness, singular as it is, really constitutes the Synoptic Problem. Primarily, no doubt, the problem is concerned with purely literary questions as to the origin, manner of composition, mutual relations, of the First Three Gospels. But the field becomes wider; momentous issues are involved.

With a view to brevity we content ourselves with results of Synoptic study in regard to main points only.

Rearrangement of order is necessitated. One of the Synoptic Gospels, very nearly the whole of it, reappears in the remaining two; it is the one which stands second in the Canon; Mark is now generally regarded as the earliest of the three. Its author, though not by any means necessarily of the Gospel in the exact form in which we have it, was, it may be, "John whose surname was Mark"; quite possibly it was composed at Rome; the date is not earlier than A.D. 64 or 65, not many months later than A.D. 70. Whether John Mark or not, its author had recourse to a variety of sources; to what, perhaps, he had heard from Peter; to a fly-sheet document of which more hereafter; for his last six chapters he may have availed himself of other written sources; oral tradition

¹ Cf. Mt. xxviii. 8, Lk. xxiv. 9, Mk. xvi. 8.

would be freely used ; something must be attributed to the author himself. His Gospel continually reveals "the way in which disciples of disciples of Jesus told to one another such stories of the ministry of Our Lord as they remembered in the light of all that had happened during the momentous thirty or forty years which succeeded the Crucifixion."¹

A further conclusion follows. The Marcan Gospel—whether Mark in the exact form in which we have it² or in different recensions of an original Mark³—("Ur-Marcus") was itself one of two main sources for the two later Evangelists.⁴ Herein, perhaps, we must see testimony to the value already attached to it ; on the other hand, the very free way in which the later Evangelists handle it is proof that it was not yet regarded as a sacred work. They prune down, they polish, they alter, as they think fit.

We pass on. Alike largely dependent on Mark, the later Synoptists agree in reporting much that finds no place in our Second Gospel. They have here drawn largely on a second main source ; a document ("Q")⁵ which, long ago swallowed up in their respective works, consisted—not by any means exclusively—of recorded Sayings of Jesus. Compiled at a very early date, whether prior to or subsequent to Mark is

¹ Burkitt, *Gosp. Hist. and its Transmission*, p. 62. It may be added with Wrede (*Das Messiasgeheimnis*, pp. 6 f.), that "die Erzählungen des Markus etwas wesentlich anderes sind als an Ort und Stelle aufgenommene Protokolle des Lebens Jesu."

² Wellhausen, *Einkl. in die drei Ersten Evang.*, p. 57.

³ Cf. Stanton, *Gospels as Hist. Documents*, ii. p. 203.

⁴ Jahn (*Über die Person Jesu*, pp. xi, 123), labouring to revive and establish the conclusions of the Tübingen school—to the effect that Mt. and Lk. were used by Mk.—will find few to allow that he has proved his case.

⁵ From the German *Quelle*, a source.

a moot point,¹ it may have originated at Jerusalem ; *perhaps* it is traceable to the Apostle Matthew. As with Mark so with Q, it has been very freely handled by the later Synoptists.

There is still a remainder to be accounted for, matter peculiar to one or other of the two later Synoptic Gospels. Here their authors are dependent on other written sources which are unknown to us ; on floating oral tradition. Whatever the exact nature of such material, the probability is that it has met with treatment similar to that already noted in the case of Mark and Q.

Can we establish the identity of the First and Third Evangelists ? As for the former, whoever he was, he was certainly not the Apostle Matthew ; conjecture points to some unknown Christian who made so large a use of the Matthaean Collection of Sayings (Q) that in course of time the Apostle's name was connected with his work.² It was composed, quite possibly, at a comparatively late date. As for the Third Gospel (with the companion-volume Acts) we may accept—not altogether without hesitation—the Lucan authorship. Its date is an open question ; a little before or not long after A.D. 70 ? the turn of the first century ?³ It originated somewhere on Greek soil.⁴

We turn from the Synoptics⁵ to the remaining Gospel.

¹ Wellhausen attaches the priority to Mk., Harnack to Q.

² Cf. Plummer, *St. Matthew*, pp. x, xxxi f.

³ If, as Burkitt (*Gosp. Hist.*, p. 106) contends and Wellhausen (*Einl.*, p. 63) disbelieves, the author had read Josephus.

⁴ von Soden, *Urchristl. Literaturgeschichte*, p. 91.

⁵ For my remarks on the Syn. Gospels I have ventured to fall back

"The Gospel according to St. John." The tradition which assigns it to John the Apostle, the son of Zebedee, is persistent; scholars of the front rank are still content to accept the traditional authorship. Weighty are the arguments advanced, yet they fall short of conviction; reasons are both numerous and cogent for setting it aside. Who, then, was the Fourth Evangelist? A conjecture fixes on a disciple of John of Ephesus; and the latter may or may not be that "beloved disciple" who somehow refuses to be identified with the Apostle John. There is no certain answer. Whoever the author was he wrote at a relatively late date, for the Synoptic Gospels were known to him,¹ and at least one of them *may* not be earlier than the close of the first century.

From the vexed question of authorship² we turn

on my contribution to the *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, and a paper read by me at the Belfast Church Conference, 1910. Let it be added that Harnack (*Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte und zur Abfassungszeit der Syn. Evangelien*) contends for the relatively early date of all three Gospels.

¹Julicher, *Einleitung*, p. 355. "Das I. Jahrhundert ist dem Joh durch seine Abhängigkeit verschlossen. So erscheint 100-125 als die empfehlungswerteste Datierung." Bauer, *H.B.N.T.*, II. ii. 5.

²If in my *Fourth Gospel and some recent German Criticism* I did little more than open up the question generally for ordinary readers my own conviction was, and is, that, on the assumption that the Gospel is a unity, the traditional authorship is, to say the least, hard to uphold. But is it really a unity? If not—and here I cannot be unmindful of what is urged by Wellhausen, Wendt, E. Schwarz, and Spitta—there remains the possibility of a "Grundschrift" which some might trace to the son of Zebedee. But it is said that this, "in view of the uniform character of the work, must be regarded as more than doubtful" (Scott, *Histor. and Relig. Value of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 18f. To the same effect W. Bauer, *H.B.N.T.*, II. iii.; Bousset, *R.G.G.*, iii. 617), while there is no doubt whatever in the

to the "noble work" itself. The sharp contrast between it and the Synoptic Gospels is at once apparent to the ordinary reader. It disagrees with them to the extent of downright contradiction;¹ if the scene in the one case be chiefly laid in Galilee, in the other it is transferred to Judaea; the duration of the ministry is so extended as to include several Passovers. As marked is the contrast in respect of subject-matter, theme, style, conception; in the one case there is the Synoptic Jesus with His pithy sayings, aphorisms, parables; in the other the Johannine Christ who is for ever discoursing of Himself in a terminology which savours of the schools. Strangely uniform is the note struck by the personages who figure in the Gospel; and the conclusion that the Fourth Evangelist has "fashioned a speech peculiar to his school,"² and then made them one and all hold converse in it is inevitably suggested.

It must be said of the Fourth Gospel that it is not, in the strict modern sense of the word, history. Its author, no doubt, had access to genuine traditions, but he has made them subservient to his own pur-

mind of B. Weiss, who raises protest against the "vivisection" of the Fourth Gospel in his *Johannesevangelium als einheitliches Werk geschichtlich erklärt*. Should, however, those who contend that the Gospel as we have it is based on an earlier writing prove their case, it would by no means follow that the "Grundschrift" in question was from the hand of the Apostle John, although it might be referred to a disciple of the Lord. An exhaustive treatment of the whole question may be expected from Dr. Stanton.

¹ As, e.g., in the dating of the Cleansing of the Temple and of the Crucifixion. In this latter case, however, the Johan. dating may be latent in the Syn. Records; cf. Mk. xiv. 2, Lk. xxii. 15.

² von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Prim. Church*, p. 222.

poses ; the great drama unfolded by him is a revelation of the workings of his own mind ;¹ he makes his characters give expression to what in reality are his own thoughts. If his Gospel enshrines true words of Jesus which might otherwise have been lost to us, their setting is that of one who, like other devout and reverent Christians of his day, has not scrupled to fashion speeches on the lines of what Jesus might be supposed to say and to place them in his master's mouth.²

For the moment we stop short here. Time-honoured theories of inspiration—the “helps” of bygone days—are seen to break down hopelessly before phenomena presented by writings of not one of which can it be positively affirmed that it comes direct from an eye-witness of the Ministry.³ Their respective authors, writing at a date when decades have elapsed since the Death of Jesus, write in all good faith. All the same they illustrate the literary standards, usages, sanctions, of a remote period ; its beliefs and conceptions. The material gleaned, freely handled and embroidered by them, is of unequal value. In part it goes back to apostolic times and to the days of Jesus ; in part its nature is such as to suggest the need of caution, and is frequently occasion of distrust.⁴ As for the later Gospels,

¹ “Die Dogmatik des Evangelisten.” Jahn, *Über die Person Jesu*, p. 139.

² Burkitt, *Two Lectures*, pp. 66, 71.

³ Even if the *πρωτοκος* of Mk. xiv. 51 be the Evangelist himself (or, as Erbes conjectures, the “beloved disciple”), his experiences would be confined to the last days of the Ministry. Cf. Burkitt, *Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus*, pp. 85 f.

⁴ A. W. Robinson, discussing the situation in regard to critical investi-

many a genuine recollection of the Life and Ministry is, unquestionably, contained in them,¹ yet the decided preference must be given to the Marcan Gospel and to the collection of Sayings which is embedded in the First and the Third Gospels.

We conclude accordingly that, albeit questions may be raised on the score of their trustworthiness,² Mark and Q are our earliest sources for the Life of Jesus.

II. *The recorded Sayings of Jesus.*

Of such Sayings a comparatively large store remains. It is scantier than we could wish—what of the many utterances which must have come from the lips of Jesus of which all record has been lost? We have but a fraction; but it might well be smaller than it is. Our Gospels, the Fourth Gospel in particular, are, after all, crowded with discourse matter, while to turn to other New Testament writings is now and again to meet with a reported Saying of the Lord. Nor may we forget the so-called “Agrapha”—reported sayings which occur in sources (of varying date and often of very small value) outside the Canonical Scriptures.³

Recorded Sayings. Sayings, that is, which, where-gation of the Bible generally (*Spiritual Progress*, pp. 91 f.), is not altogether happy with his illustration, and, fain to reassure his readers, minimizes results.

¹ Wrede, *Messiasgeheimnis*, pp. 241 f.: “Dass jüngere Schriften das sachlich Ältere bieten, darf niemals Wunder nehmen.”

² Wrede, *op. cit.*, p. 131: “Das Markusevangelium . . . gehört in die Dogmengeschichte”; Wellhausen, *Einl. in die drei Ersten Evang.*, p. 88: “In Q steht Jesus selber von Anfang an seiner Gemeinde gegenüber, die sich erst in Jerusalem konstituierte.”

³ See Hastings, *D.B.*, v. 343 ff.

ever found—and keeping within the limits of the New Testament—are attributed to Jesus. What of their genuineness? Are they, or are they not, Sayings which, in substance if not in form, did actually come from Him?

In attempting some answer to this grave question, attention must now be directed to processes of transmission and translation.

A first consideration is that Jesus and His disciples habitually spoke in Aramaic. That, as Galileans, they had a colloquial acquaintance with Greek is certain;¹ the conjecture is permissible that, able to read Greek, Jesus did on occasion discourse in Greek.² The ordinary vehicle of conversation for Himself and His disciples was, however, the Semitic dialect, which, then current in Palestine,³ resembled Hebrew very much as modern Dutch bears a likeness to modern English.⁴ It accordingly follows that whatever recorded Saying of Jesus has the stamp of substantial genuineness would be spoken in Aramaic in the first instance.⁵ In Aramaic it would be listened to, remembered, handed on. But in what way?

We are met by an interesting conjecture. Starting from the undoubted fact that in ancient times the use of the pen was a matter, not of "precise education," but of "common knowledge," this con-

¹ Cf. Mayor, *St. James*, pp. xli f.

² Plummer, *St. Matthew*, p. xxv.

³ Burkitt, *Two Lectures*, p. 72.

⁴ Kennett, *In Our Tongues*, p. 105.

⁵ Cf. Archdeacon Allen's essay on *The Aramaic Background of the Gospels* in *O.S.S.P.* A few Aramaic words linger on in our English Bible, e.g. *Abba*, *Talitha cumi*, *Ephphatha*.

jecture instances a disciple who, as tax-collector, had been occupied in writing tax-receipts, and the suggestion follows that the pen of Matthew-Levi found new employment when notes, memoranda, of the words of Jesus were taken down on the spot by the practised scribe.¹ It may be so, but it is most unlikely. If Matthew really had a hand in Q (or the nucleus of Q) it would not be until a considerably later period. The conjecture, again, is too suggestive of modern methods.²

Jesus Himself wrote nothing. The theory of memoranda taken down at the time by one or other of His hearers is incapable of proof. Weightier by far are arguments from the trained and retentive memories of those who listened attentively and eagerly to the spoken Aramaic words, yet such arguments may not be unduly pressed. The atmosphere, it must be remembered, was not that of the Rabbinic schools;³ Jesus, perhaps, was not too solicitous that His every utterance should be stereotyped on His disciples' minds; they, His disciples, had none of them received a Rabbi's education. If this is borne in mind, the appeal is justified to powers of memory rarely met with in modern life, and then chiefly in the child or in adults who have had but little "schooling."⁴

¹ Flinders Petrie, *Growth of the Gospels*, pp. 5 f.

² "Jesus was not followed by stenographers." Montefiore, *Syn. Gospels*, ii. p. 901.

³ The scholar, taught by constant repetition to fix the oral teaching of the Rabbis in his mind, was expected to hand it on in precisely the same form; hence it was said of an apt pupil: "He is like the well-plastered cistern from which no drop can escape."

⁴ J. Weiss, *S.N.T.*, i. p. 54.

There is something more. What came from Jesus was assuredly calculated to rivet the attention.¹ The point is not, however, solely of "oriental proverb-wisdom in its popular form,"² or of parables of beauty and of inward truth,"³ or of the paradox at once startling and concise. Let us remark in particular that, addressing Himself continually to simpler folk, the words of Jesus fell on singularly receptive soil and would strike deep root in it.

In considerations such as the foregoing there is some guarantee for the genuineness of recorded Sayings. But we may not stop here; other considerations have now to be taken into account. The possibility must be reckoned with that this or that Saying might undergo changes in the hearers' minds: they would remember its substance, but not its exact form. They would pass it on to others; it would not be always the original utterance itself, but rather the utterance as distilled from the alembic of their own minds. Received at second-hand and again repeated, it would be transmitted with fresh modifications. At every successive stage the probability of variation is enhanced.

The Recorded Sayings of Jesus have, then, a long history. They have simmered in many minds; they have passed from mouth to mouth. That they should be one and all Sayings exactly as they originally came from Jesus is, on the face of it, most unlikely. The substance may have survived, yet not necessarily the form; the form, again, may have undergone such

¹ Thus Justin Mart., *Apol.*, i. 18: "No trifling sophist was He."

² Holtzmann, *Einl.*, pp. 430 ff.

³ Bretschneider, *Probabilia*, p. 1.

transformation as to alter and impair the substance. As one or other Saying was transmitted with variations its several versions might assume shape and form as originally distinct Sayings.¹

Yet more considerations. Men would ask: "What would Jesus have said?"—as answers came: "Surely He would have said this or that" conjecture might merge into positive statement: "This is the word He actually spoke." He freely availed Himself of the familiar proverb, not to say of the Rabbinic maxim; it might, then, come about that the mere citation would be deemed original in His lips. If, "Master of the Parable,"² He was wont to explain His parables, some explanation really belonging to a later period might be viewed as His.³ Some incident might be related to Him; a pointed remark then and there elicited might, long afterwards, be expanded into a parable;⁴ on the other hand, a parable might in time become the story which—connected, perhaps, with some familiar object—was entirely destitute of fact.⁵ And again, Jesus was familiar with the Old Testament (not to speak of other than current Jewish literature). So were His disciples; they thought in terms of the Old Testament. With the lapse of time they, quite unconsciously, might make Him responsible for

¹ The Parable of the Talents (Mt. xxv. 14 ff.) is perhaps identical with the Parable of the Pounds (Lk. xix. 11 ff.).

² Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 44.

³ Mt. xiii. 37 ff.

⁴ An instance might be the Parable of the Dishonest Steward.

⁵ Thus, almost certainly, in the case of the Cursing of the Fig-tree. "Das Stück war wohl ursprünglich eine Parabel auf den Untergang des Judenthums, welche missverstanden wurde." Jahn, *Über die Person Jesu*, p. 41.

allusions or citations which, frequent borrower as He was, had not been His own spoken word. Yet one point more: with the development and the expansion of the infant Church, a terminology would be fashioned which, telling of a variety of influences, might mean that Sayings born of new ideas and conceptions would be placed in His mouth.

He had spoken, be it remembered, in Aramaic. We soon find ourselves in a period when, as the mind of Christendom turned from the future to the past, men began to pen records of the earthly life of Jesus. Oral transmission no longer sufficed. The document is met with; and it tells of attempts made to collect and to commit to writing whatever Sayings were attributed to Jesus; thus, in the case of the Collection (Q) which reveals the "complete self-effacement," the "conscientious care"¹ of him to whom, whether the Apostle Matthew or not, we owe a debt of gratitude for his priceless work.² The "oldest transcript of the words of Jesus," and in Aramaic, it ceased to wear an Aramaic dress as Christianity started on its way to become a world-religion. The world of that day was a Greek-speaking world, hence the New Testament was, from the first, a Greek book,³ and hence the necessity for translation before what had been originally spoken in Aramaic could make its appearance in Gospels composed in Greek.

Now, it is never an easy thing to translate. If the work of translation is to be done thoroughly, it must be done by an expert; by one who, master of both

¹ von Soden, *Early Christian Literature*, pp. 131 f.

² Harnack, *Sprüche*, p. 172.

³ Deissmann, *New Light on N.T.*, pp. 29 f.

languages, is versed in the subject-matter. Then, then only, will the rendering be such that the exact meaning of the original is tersely and faithfully reproduced by the translation.

At once this question arises: May not Sayings—already modified in the process of oral transmission—have undergone fresh modification when made to wear that Greek dress in which they survive?

The probability is that it was a case very often of adaptation rather than translation.¹ Aptly has it been said: "thoroughly to understand our Lord's Sayings we ought to be able to retranslate them into the original Aramaic."² But there are difficulties in the way, and an exact retranslation may remain impossible. At any rate we are here reminded that the very uncertainty which confronts us is itself a striking witness to the fact that a once insignificant Jewish sect had begun to assert itself as a fast-growing Church.

Again setting down conclusions, we can but reflect on the exceedingly varied fate which must have befallen the Words of Jesus. We see them, so to speak, coming to the surface; they disappear; when they reappear it is in altered form; their lot is imaged by the pebble now stranded on the river bank and now borne onwards by the torrent which shapes it and polishes it in its rapid flow. But to have done with metaphor;—all conscientious and unbiassed scholars are at one in telling us that the Sayings of Jesus have not survived unscathed the long-continued processes of transmission. The

¹ See Stanton, *Gospels as Hist. Documents*, ii. pp. 68 f.

² Burkitt, *Two Lectures*, p. 72.

laborious task of determining what precisely may be deemed original in His lips is engaged in by them.¹ Yet the admission is necessitated: "in no case can we be quite confident that we possess the *ipsissima verba* of our Lord."²

Quite so. It does not therefore follow that we must rule out the genuineness of His recorded Sayings one and all; far from it. The original form may be lost beyond recovery where in many cases the substance has survived. There are doubtless other cases in which we get very nearly back to the Saying as it actually came from Jesus. Even if the long-drawn discourses of the Johannine Christ be largely the free constructions of the Fourth Evangelist himself³ it is nevertheless possible that some true words of the Lord enshrined in his Gospel "will come out safe from the laboratory of modern criticism."⁴ The fact remains that we are on safer ground with the Synoptics as dissected by the modern critic. Sayings are recorded in the earliest Gospel (Mark) which assuredly bear the hall-mark of substantial genuineness. As for Q, it must remain, perhaps, a collection of disconnected fragments; yet a casket of "precious jewels,"⁵ it is rich in substantially genuine utterances as compiled by one "most conscientious and careful in his acceptance of Sayings

¹ J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 36. The simile is borrowed from Strauss.

² *C.B.E.*, p. 220.

³ "The Fourth Evangelist, whether he was one of our Lord's immediate disciples or not, has done much the same for Christ as Plato did for Socrates." Inge, *Ch. of Ireland Conference Report*, 1910, p. 79.

⁴ Burkitt, *Two Lectures*, p. 71.

⁵ Burkitt, *Earliest Sources*, pp. 44 ff.

of the Lord.”¹ And again, if Mark and Q were really independent works² there is, in some instances, double attestation: “where (they) appear to report the same Saying we have the nearest approach that we can hope to get to the common tradition of the earliest Christian society about Our Lord’s words.”³ Be this so or not we are on firm ground, again, with the parables. None the less the “work of art” of Him who spoke them because the form of His parabolic speech had been caught from Rabbinic teachers;⁴ they belong for the most part to all that is most assured and best attested in the recorded Sayings, and are traceable, in substance, to Jesus Himself.⁵ “Nowhere in early Christian literature, except in the three Synoptic Gospels, do we find that picturesque outlook on men and nature that finds its expression in the Parables of Jesus.”⁶

At this point we may sum up in respect of all that has fallen for consideration in this chapter.

The appeal no longer lies to the four Gospels as viewed from time-honoured standpoints. We have seen them resolved into their constituent elements. It has become clear that distinctions must be drawn between secondary traditions with or without basis in historic fact, and primary authorities which them-

¹ So von Soden, *Early Christ. Literature*, p. 132.

² J. Weiss takes the opposite view. Harnack now accepts the theory of dependence on the part of Mk., and Sanday, “not without reluctance,” has come round to a similar conclusion. On the other hand, Stanton (*Gosp. as Hist. Documents*, ii. p. 203) decides: “Ile (Mark) did not use the Greek Logian Document known to the First and Third Evangelists.”

³ Burkitt, *Gospel Hist.*, p. 147.

⁴ Bousset, *Jesus*, pp. 43 ff.

⁵ Cf. Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden*, i. p. 24.

⁶ Burkitt, *Gospel Hist.*, p. 195.

selves, as some would urge,¹ necessitate abundant reservations. The shrinkage of material is considerable; opinion may differ as to its extent,² yet few will deny that the records—whether of the Life or the Sayings of Jesus—are very meagre, and that our information respecting Him is scantier than had been supposed. There is force in the remark: “just where we most want to know we must always be content to conjecture”;³ nor is the forecast altogether groundless: “possibly the result of critical research may be to show that it is for us just as impossible to know Christ after the flesh as St. Paul believed that it was for him inexpedient.”⁴

It may be so. This at all events is tolerably certain: the records possessed by us—the substantial genuineness of many of them notwithstanding—are of a sort which refuses to admit of any detailed, circumstantial, consecutive narrative of the Life of Jesus;⁵ hence the works which profess to give such a narrative are in large measure obsolete. Whatever delineations may be attempted in their stead must henceforth be on other lines and will speak of reconstruction.⁶ They will aim at the “Charakterbild”; outward events will be dealt with in comparatively few pages.

¹ As, e.g., Wrede, Wellhausen.

² Cf. Barth, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 34.

³ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. lxviii.

⁴ Kirsopp Lake, *Exp.*, May 1910, 470 f.

⁵ von Soden, *Die wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, p. 67: “was man eine Biographie nennt, das können wir nicht liefern.” Cf. Wellhausen, *Einleitung*, p. 89. “Der Traum eines Lebens Jesu . . . ist ausgeträumt.” So Weidel, *Jesu Persönlichkeit*, p. 5.

⁶ Cf. Inge, *J.T.S.*, xi. p. 584.

The "Charakterbild," be it said in closing, of One who, if dimly discerned, had a real historical existence.

It is just what some would deny. "The Gospel," according to one,¹ was originally nothing but a Judaised Adonis-cult. Another² traces Christianity to its origin in social upheavals among Jewish proletarian-classes in Italy; in Greek popular philosophy, Messianism, communism, in strange conjunction. A third³ prefers to think of a form of Jahve-worship which prevailed extensively before the Christian era. In the case of a fourth⁴ we are pointed to a Babylonian epic, a fifth⁵ has marshalled his array of "Pagan Christs," a sixth makes "the central figure of the Gospels denote, not a historical person, or a supernatural visitant from a far-away heaven, but a present Reality, the inner Self of all, the Eternal Divine Son that is in the deep background of every human soul waiting for development and growth."⁶ The existence of a Jesus is, perhaps, conceded; the Jesus of the Gospels is said to have existed only in the pious imagination of a credulous age. Not that the men who so argue are to be placed without distinction in the same category with those who, making loud display of little learning, are avowedly anti-religious in their aims. Some are scholars of repute—the question, that is, being of their own proper fields in which that of historical research is not as yet generally conspicuous. They are sometimes too

¹ Arthur Drews.

² Kalthoff. His mantle has fallen on Steudel.

³ W. B. Smith.

⁴ Jensen.

⁵ J. M. Robertson.

⁶ Anderson, *H.J.*, ix. p. 364.

free with diatribe and invective,¹ yet in more than one instance there is a depth of solicitude for what are held to be the interests of true religion.

Yet surely all such contentions are in the very teeth of the evidence. The case for the other side is represented, both at home and abroad, by sober, ripe, and fearless scholarship; the counter arguments refuse dismissal. As, indeed, might be expected, we are "poorly, very poorly, off" in regard to testimony "not derived from and not influenced by Christianity itself." It nevertheless suffices to establish "this all-important fact that one Jesus, or Christus, founder of a Jewish sect, was crucified in Judea under the Roman procurator Pontius Pilate."² But from Josephus³ and Tacitus, Suetonius and Pliny, we turn instinctively to St. Paul.⁴ If a perverse criticism persists in a wholesale rejection of the Pauline epistles, the genuineness of the larger number of them is strenuously upheld by the majority of scholars—upheld in the very quarter, it might be added, where ruthless attempts are made to shatter the credibility of the Marcan Gospel.⁵ What if, limiting ourselves to Romans, 1 and 2 Cor., and Galatians, we frankly allow that the Jesus Christ of Paul is primarily a

¹ The pity is that contemptuous allusions are heard on both sides.

² Arno Neumann, *Jesus*, pp. 3 f. The surprising thing would be if, in the circumstances, such testimony were abundant.

³ Grave suspicion attaches to the sections in question. Yet a plea was raised for their genuineness at the Leyden Congress of Religions by Prof. Burkitt. Jahn (*Über die Person Jesu*, pp. 148 f.) expresses himself to the same effect.

⁴ Whom, parting company from Jensen, Drews is content to regard as a real personage.

⁵ See Wrede's scathing remarks (*Paulus*, pp. 2 f.) on theories advanced in Holland and—if seldom—in Germany.

divine, pre-existent, being?—it is surely still the case that the Apostle's thought is also of One who had an earthly existence in a still recent historic past; and that while in all probability he never saw Jesus in the flesh, he yet knows of events and circumstances in the earthly life of Jesus which are not exhausted by the "crucified, dead, and buried" of the Apostles' Creed.¹ But to have done with Paul; other evidence—startling, it may be, in its nature—is forthcoming in the Synoptic Gospels, in that they embody Sayings and allusions which by no possibility can be referred to the invention of Evangelists for whom the hero of their narrative was already an object of divine worship. With the nine "foundation-pillars for a truly scientific Life of Jesus"² we at least get down to a solid rock of irrefragable evidence for His historical existence.

Let us take these words with us as we pursue our inquiry: "only a real Jesus could have caused the Gospel. Without Jesus no Mark."³

¹ So Hollmann, in *Das Sogen. Apost. Glaubensbekenntnis*, pp. 80 ff. "Paulus muss mehr von Jesus wissen, als er in seiner Unterweisung und Verteidigung benutzt." So Schweitzer, *Geschichte der Paul. Forschung*, p. 191.

P. W. Schmiedel, *E.B.*, ii. p. 1881. In view of reiterated and sometimes reckless assertions to the effect that only the nine passages in question are accepted by Prof. Schmiedel as genuine, reference may be made to his explicit disclaimer in his preface to Arno Neumann's *Jesus*.

³ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 181. Detailed notice of the mass of literature occasioned by the storm of controversy being here impracticable it must be enough to mention the following: Jülicher, *Hat Jesus gelebt?*; J. Weiss, *Jesus von Nazareth Mythos oder Geschichte?*; C. Clemen, *Der geschichtliche Jesus*; Klostermann, *Die neuesten Angriffe auf die Geschichtlichkeit Jesu*; Thorburn, *Jesus the Christ*; Case, *The Historicity of Jesus*. Jahn (*Über die Person Jesu*, pp. 152) closes his discussion of evidences thus: "Nach alledem kann an der Existenz der Person Jesu kein Zweifel sein."

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS.

WITH the stage now entered we get to close quarters with our main subject, the beliefs and conceptions of Jesus relative to The Last Things.

Two things are matter of assumption. To begin with ; whatever may be said hereafter as to the personality of Jesus, the Jesus to whom our subject points had a real historical existence. Secondly, trustworthy information respecting Him has shrunk within comparatively narrow bounds. Meagre the records of His life ; frequent and grave the uncertainty which attaches to Sayings placed in His lips.

It is, then, as fully alive to the need of caution and discrimination, that we go on our way. Many, indeed, are the reported words of Jesus which bear directly or indirectly on the doctrine of The Last Things ; they will not meet with unhesitating acceptance from the mere fact that this or that Evangelist has attributed them to Jesus. The decided preference being given to primary authorities, we shall fix on Sayings which, germane to our subject, occur in the earliest Synoptic Gospel (Mark) or in the lost document (Q) which is, perhaps, ultimately traceable to

the Apostle Matthew. It may be that we shall pause on apparent coincidences between Mark and Q; yet, mindful of divergence of opinion, we shall refrain from labouring the point of double attestation; generally speaking, the parables will place us on comparatively safe ground. If the later Synoptists, jointly or severally, contain additional matter which is substantially in agreement with earlier representations, we shall give them a respectful hearing; similarly in the case of the Fourth Gospel, or if appeal be made to Paul. Yet we shall bear in mind throughout that the occurrence of any Saying even in the earliest sources does not *ipso facto* guarantee its genuineness. The question is bound to arise: must not this or that reported Saying be referred, not to Jesus Himself, but to disciples unable to emancipate themselves from long-accustomed beliefs and conceptions; in short, to the primitive Church?

Yet one more preliminary remark. For the time being attention is to be concentrated on Jesus Himself; here inquiry shall be narrowed down as far as possible to the reported utterances of One whom it will not be invidious to speak of at the present juncture as a certain Palestinian Jew¹ who figures on the stage of history. Yet complete detachment and isolation of the subject is next door to impracticable, and occasional and passing allusion to topics

¹ This *pace* H. S. Chamberlain (*Foundations of Nineteenth Century*, i. pp. 211 f.), who, having persuaded himself to the contrary, roundly asserts: "The probability that Christ was no Jew, that He had not a drop of genuinely Jewish blood in His veins, is so great that it is almost equivalent to a certainty." To the same effect Lester in his recent work, *The Historic Jesus*.

belonging more properly to later chapters will very probably occur.

The question, then, is: what are the beliefs, the statements, of Jesus in regard to The Last Things? What, in the drama of The Last Things as conceived of by Him, is the rôle which He apparently assigns to Himself?

Let us arrange our immediate subject under three main headings:—The Proclamation of Jesus; His views respecting Resurrection, Judgment, the Hereafter generally; His own rôle as conceived of by Him.

I. *The Proclamation of Jesus.* There is little room for doubt here; He, Jesus, came forward with the proclamation: "The Kingdom of God is at hand."¹ If the wording of the announcement varied the substance would be identical.

At once this point strikes us: The proclamation is so alluded to as to exclude the idea of novelty. Of detailed explanation there is none whatever; familiarity with the topic is tacitly assumed on the part, not only of readers of the Gospel narratives, but of actual listeners in the first instance. It may

¹ Mk. i. 14 f., Mt. iv. 17. We remark that "the Kingdom of God" of Mk. becomes with Mt. "the Kingdom of Heaven." The expression *ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*, peculiar to the First Evangelist and evidently preferred by him to the uniform *ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ* of Mk. and Lk., is specifically Jewish, and finds perhaps its explanation in the resort to circumlocutions so as to avoid mention of the ineffable Name. The two phrases may, however, be regarded as synonymous; and it is quite conceivable that each of them was used by Jesus. On the one hand He would freely speak of God, on the other hand He would unhesitatingly avail Himself of expressions current in His day. See Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 91 ff.; Feine, *Theol. des N.T.*, p. 21; Barth, *Hauptprobleme*, pp. 41 ff.; Pfeiderer, *Prim. Christianity*, ii. p. 396.

accordingly be inferred that the phrase "the Kingdom of God" was already current coin with those who heard from Jesus that the Kingdom was actually "at hand."¹

The impending advent of the Kingdom, or the Reign, of God was, then, sum and substance of, central feature in, the proclamation with which Jesus came forward.²

But this is not to have done with our first main heading.

To begin with. According to Jesus the coming of the Kingdom was to bring in a new era, to mean the winding up of an era which had well-nigh closed. Thus in the Marcan record (Mk. i. 15): "the time is fulfilled"; the appointed time, that is, has come, and with it an end to the respite which God has granted to the world.³ That the thought of Jesus is of two ages is clear from Mk. x. 30: "now in this time . . . in the age to come."⁴ Sharp is the distinction drawn between them; as for the one, it is given over to terrible corruption and under the dominion of the power of evil;⁵ as for the other, it is to be emphatically a good age, under the direct rule of God.⁶ In the one case the phrase "Kingdom of God" is abundantly suggestive; in the other there is some warrant

¹ Knopf, *Zukunftshoffnungen des Urchristentums*, p. 1; Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 71.

² Montefiore, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxv.; Ninck, *Jesus als Charakter*, p. 252.

³ *S.N.T.*, i. p. 76.

⁴ Lk. xviii. 30, Mt. xii. 32. Cf. J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 107; Bousset, *Religion des Judenthums*, p. 232.

⁵ Cf. Pfeiderer, *Prim. Christianity*, i. p. 71.

⁶ Cf. Schürer, *H.J.P.*, II., ii. p. 133.

for the remark¹—it needs, perhaps, qualification—that, in the mind of Jesus, “this world is evil and in the power of the devil.”² “Satan was to Him a terribly real person.”³ “The prince of this world” (Jn. xii. 31) is a term which could come as naturally from the Synoptic Jesus as from the Johannine Christ.

Secondly. The advent, the near approach, of the Kingdom is, with Jesus, heralded and accompanied by signs and portents. Accepting what is manifestly a popular belief, He goes on to show that the Elijah as evidently looked for was an Elijah already come in the person of John the Baptist.⁴ If an allusion to “signs of the times” be probably the insertion of a later period,⁵ the thought contained in the emphatic “this time” of a less doubtful Saying⁶ is equally one of signs which those who had eyes to see might easily discern. Disaster, weird portents, strange phenomena, it would seem, are predicted and expected; a great tribulation is to come upon the world.⁷

¹ In Sayings about Satan’s Kingdom, e.g., Mk. iii. 23 f. = Mt. xii. 25 f. = Lk. xi. 17 f. Cf. further the Temptation-narratives, which stood in Q.

² Montefiore, *op cit.*, ii. p. 468. Yet cf. Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah*, p. 100.

³ J. M. Thompson, *Miracles in the N.T.*, p. 41.

⁴ Mk. ix. 12 f. = Mt. xvii. 11 f. Regarded by Heitmüller (*R.G.G.*, iii. 592) as “Theorie der Gemeinde.” The identification probably belongs to a period subsequent to the Baptist’s death.

⁵ The section Mt. xvi. 2^b 3 is absent from some of the most ancient MSS.

⁶ Lk. xii. 54 ff.

⁷ Thus in a document already subject of allusion, the so-called Little Apocalypse; Mk. xiii. = Mt. xxiv. = Lk. xxi. That the prolonged discourse, as we have it, was not spoken by Jesus is generally admitted. The conjecture—disallowed by Williams (*O.S.S.P.*, p. 416)—is probably well founded that it evinces dependence on a written source, a sort of fly-sheet (of Jewish-Christian rather than of Jewish origin) which passed

In the third place. The dominant note, no doubt, is that the coming of the Kingdom is even now imminent. Another note is, however, occasionally struck; one which suggests that it has come already, that it is actually present, in process of realization. True that the essential point in Jesus' proclamation is that the coming of the Kingdom is now a positive certainty, and not that the crisis is only more or less near;¹ be it remarked here in particular that He fluctuates (nor yet in this case only) between two conceptions. On the one hand the Kingdom as conceived of by Him is indeed "at hand," but it is still future; He bids His disciples pray, "Thy Kingdom come."² On the other hand He finds in demoniac

from hand to hand in the days of Jerusalem's agony, and which subsequently was referred to Jesus. To what extent genuine Sayings of Jesus are embedded in the Discourse is uncertain, yet in all probability "its main ideas are not far removed from Jesus' own opinions" (von Dobschütz, *Exp.*, March 1910, p. 197). "Das apokalyptische Gemälde stände nicht in unseren Evangelien, wenn Jesus nicht vor seinen Jüngern derartige Aussagen gemacht hätte" (Feine, *Theol. des N.T.*, p. 96). Otherwise Barth, who is of the opinion (*Hauptprobleme*, p. 178) "dass die Parusierede von Jesus stammt."

¹ J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 79; *S.N.T.*, i. p. 253.

² Mt. vi. 10 = Lk. xi. 2. On the interesting alternative reading in Luke: "Let Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us," see *S.N.T.*, i. p. 287; P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu*, ii. p. 288; Wellhausen, *Einleitung*, p. 72. The genuineness of the more familiar petition—not necessarily its originality, a like petition occurs in an ancient Synagogue prayer—shall be admitted (yet cf. Harnack, *Sprüche*, p. 48); in regard to its significance there can be no doubt: it would be "meaningless if the Kingdom were begun already" (Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 111). "Es ist eine gänzlich willkürliche Abschwächung wenn man dies 'Kommen' irgend wie auf ein 'Wachsen,' 'Zunehmen,' 'Sich Ausbreiten,' reduziert" (J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 71). "Si l'on veut rester dans le sens historique de la prière il ne faut pas retirer à cette formule sa signification eschatologique" (Loisy, *Évan. Synop.*, i. p. 603).

cures proof positive that Satan's power is actually being overthrown,¹ giving place to the rule of God: "if I by the spirit of God (with the finger of God) cast out devils, no doubt the Kingdom of God is come upon you."² If this second conception may not be read into the Beatitudes ("for theirs is the Kingdom of God"), it appears to meet us in a reported Saying of nearly certain genuineness (Lk. xvii. 21): "the Kingdom of God is within you" (or, "in the midst of you").³ That the Kingdom, already there, if potentially, is to be a gradual growth might be inferred from some of the parables.⁴ As we find it said that some should see it "come with power,"⁵ the idea, it may be, is suggested of "the Kingdom in its completed development, in the full realization of its strength;"⁶ if so, however, the idea quite possibly is that of the Evangelist and not of Jesus.⁷ An ambiguity must be reckoned with; both conceptions, it is said, are present in the mind of Jesus—sometimes, it may be, in a combination hard to under-

¹ Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 406; Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 137. But cf. Wrede, who is disposed to reject the narratives in question.

² Mt. xii. 28 = Lk. xi. 20 (Q).

³ From an unknown source. Barth (*op. cit.*, p. 56) translates ἐντός ὑμῶν "in euerm Bereich." According to Scott (*op. cit.*, p. 109) the Saying "expresses in vivid dramatic fashion, the nearness of the Kingdom and the unexpectedness of its coming." For a discussion of the "famous verses" see Montefiore, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 1012 ff.

⁴ E.g., The Grain of Mustard seed (Mk. iv. 30 ff. = Mt. xiii. 31 f. = Lk. xiii. 18 f.); The Leaven (Mt. xiii. 33 = Lk. xiii. 20 f.); The Seed in its secret growth (Mt. iv. 26 ff. only). So Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁵ ἐν δυνάμει (Mk. ix. 1. But cf. Mt. xvi. 28, Lk. ix. 27).

⁶ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 209.

⁷ So Joh. Weiss, *S.N.T.*, i. p. 154.

stand.¹ That the former conception, that of a Kingdom which had yet to come, weighed down the balance is a safe conclusion, and one which is strongly supported by a certainly genuine Saying which belongs to the closing scenes: "I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God."² He, Jesus, apparently can contemplate a delay;³ not, therefore, a prolonged delay. The "at hand" of the Proclamation is emphatic; still more emphatic is the declaration: "there be some of them that stand here, which shall in nowise taste of death, till they see the Kingdom of God."⁴ The thought of "an extension of the Church through a long period of history upon earth" would in any case be as foreign to the mind of Jesus as it was foreign to the mind of Paul.⁵

To pass on: what does Jesus say as to conditions and qualifications for entrance into the Kingdom, membership in the Kingdom? Again we become

¹ Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

² Mk. xiv. 25=Mt. xxvi. 25=Lk. xxii. 18. "That the prevailing conception of Jesus was that of a future Kingdom seems to admit of little doubt or question." Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Percy Gardner (*Relig. Experience of St. Paul*, p. 131) emphatically dissents: "to Jesus the Kingdom was primarily present and secondarily future."

³ Thus, perhaps, in the Parable of the Wicked Husbandman (Lk. xx. 9 ff.); thus again in the Lucan introduction (Lk. xix. 11) to the Parable of the Pounds, which is, perhaps, another version of the Parable of the Talents (Mt. xxv. 14 ff.).

⁴ Lk. ix. 27—where the *ἐν δυνάμει* of the Marcan parallel is omitted. The Matthaean report (Mt. xvi. 28) runs thus: "till they see the Son of Man coming in His Kingdom," but the meaning is identical. That we have here a substantially genuine Saying of Jesus is nearly certain.

⁵ von Dobschütz, *Significance of Early Christian Eschatology*, in Report of O.C.H.R., p. 313.

aware of ambiguity ; of diversity of conception on the part of One who makes an imperative demand for repentance : " the Kingdom of God is at hand, repent ye." ¹ As the demand, presumably, is addressed to all who hear, the assumption lies near that the gates of the Kingdom will be thrown wide open without distinction to all who qualify themselves by repentance of the sort which Jesus demands. Only, then, statements are met with which, suggesting that He cannot conceive of the Kingdom otherwise than in the framing of the Holy Land, ² suggest that His thought is of an essentially Jewish Kingdom. He refers His mandate to His own people. ³ There is a ring of exclusiveness in Sayings which, recorded as they are by an Evangelist who emphasizes the universality of the Gospel, are the harder to reject, ⁴ while the words placed in the mouth of the disciples by the author of Luke-Acts (Lk. xxiv. 21 ; Acts i. 6) are at least suggestive that Jesus conceived of His mission as restricted to the Jews. On the other hand, there are Sayings not easily discredited which, implicitly, suggest a wider outlook, and which overleap nationality and barriers of race. As we find it said of little children : " of such is the Kingdom of God " ; ⁵ as we read further : " Not everyone that saith unto Me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth

¹For the significance of the demand, *vid.* Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

²J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 113.

³P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu*, ii. p. 349.

⁴Mt. x. 5, xv. 24. Cf. Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 335 ; Hollmann, *Welche Relig. hatten die Juden als Jesus auftrat?* p. 38 ; Allen, *S. Matthew*, p. 101.

⁵Mk. x. 14 = Mt. xix. 14 (cf. Mt. xviii. 3) = Lk. xviii. 16 f.

the will of My Father which is in heaven";¹ as we remark the significance of the Beatitudes; our conclusion will, perhaps, be this, that while Jesus limited His activities to His own people, He declined, at least in thought, to see in the Jew, and the Jew only, the destined inheritor of the Kingdom so close at hand. There is room for the conjecture that He allows, if tacitly, equal rights and privileges to the non-Jew—the Gentile world.²

There is, then, a note of universalism in, at any rate, the thought of Jesus; what about a note of pessimism? It is latent, perhaps, in words which tell of members of His own nation excluded from the Kingdom.³ He feels, it may be, that those who in character are even as a little child are after all rare plants in the garden of God.⁴ He can speak of a narrow gate and a straitened way—He can add: "few be they that find it."⁵ In what are, perhaps, adapted words He can say: "many are called, but few chosen."⁶ That Jesus did so express Himself is quite credible; but whether He really "seems to have believed that the numbers who would be 'lost' . . . would be (to our ideas) painfully large"⁷ is scarcely susceptible of proof.

Again we pass on. That certain qualifications are

¹ Mt. vii. 21. Cf. Lk. vi. 46.

² Haupt, *Eschat. Aussagen*, p. 100. The attitude of Jesus to Samaritans is very significant.

³ Mt. viii. 11 = Lk. xiii. 28. Cf. Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 92; J. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁴ J. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁵ Mt. vii. 13 f. Cf. Lk. xiii. 24.

⁶ Mt. xxii. 14. Cf. 2 Esdras viii. 3.

⁷ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. xcvi.

essential for participation in the Kingdom is beyond doubt. The question now is whether, in the conception of Jesus, the Kingdom itself can be hastened and brought in as the direct consequence of any human striving, any action on the part of man? At first sight we are prompted to answer in the negative. To revert to the petition "Thy Kingdom come"; here the idea is, unquestionably, of divine intervention,¹ if not of the decisive act of God alone. We turn to a Saying the substantial genuineness of which may be admitted: "fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom";² —the Kingdom, that is, is unmistakably conceived of as the gift of God: "Only those who, on the one hand, made the utmost sacrifices in the right spirit will enter the Kingdom. And, on the other hand, the Kingdom would be given as a gift to those who by nature and grace were fitted to receive it."³ There is truth in the assertion that, in the thought of Jesus, "no human being can aid God."⁴ Yet as we remark that, in the firm belief of Jesus, God was desirous of and responsive to the insistent prayer of faith, we decide thus: He, Jesus, was persuaded that, while the Kingdom would be brought in by God, its coming might nevertheless be hastened as the result of man's effort.⁵

Yet one point more. Where does Jesus locate this Kingdom of God which is for Him future yet so close

¹ J. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 160: "ein göttliches Eingreifen." And see *eine, op. cit.*, pp. 96, 100.

² Lk. xii. 32 only.

³ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 59.

⁴ Bousset, *Relig. des Judentums*, p. 203.

⁵ This is admirably brought out by Scott (*op. cit.*, pp. 136-144).

at hand? What of the scene in which the reign of God was shortly to manifest itself?

In a passage peculiar to the First Gospel (Mt. xix. 28) mention is made of "the regeneration" (in the Greek *παλιγγενεσία*). Whether the Saying in question really comes from Jesus is perhaps doubtful;¹ the idea contained in the word instanced, that of a renovation of the whole world, is certainly met with in other utterances of substantial genuineness. One such utterance, quite possibly, is embedded in the "Little Apocalypse";² on the assumption that the words "heaven and earth shall pass away" really came from Him, His thought would surely be of a renovated world, of a new social order on a transfigured earth. To revert once more to the petition, "Thy Kingdom come"; it is suggestive of a coming on what was still the scene and sphere of the reign of Satan. The words "Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth," may or may not be the amplification of a later period,³ but in any case they are in exact keeping with others which appear to indicate this earth as the destined scene of a reign of God, of a new order brought down from heaven to earth. In that new order, as conceived of by Jesus, there are to be thrones of honour and of rule, distinctions of rank (Mt. xi. 11), exalted seats are reserved for some (Mk. x. 40), the members of a chosen band are to sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Mt. xix. 28 = Lk. xxii. 30).⁴ That

¹ Shailer Matthews, *Messianic Hope*, p. 79. Cf. Lk. xxii. 28 ff.

² Mk. xiii. 31. Cf. Mt. v. 18 = Lk. xvi. 17; *S.N.T.*, i. p. 199.

³ Cf. *S.N.T.*, i. p. 288; Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁴ *S.N.T.*, i. p. 357; Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 113. But cf. P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu*, ii. pp. 64, 136: "Kein Jesuswort."

His thought is of a Jewish nation purified and renovated is suggested by the Saying: "many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down (*i.e.* recline at table) with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of heaven."¹ A new Palestine, it might seem, is the destined locality of the Kingdom; a new Jerusalem—"the city of the great King" (Mt. v. 35)—its capital and ruling centre. On the one hand He, Jesus, is altogether silent as to gates of pearl and golden streets; on the other hand, utterances appear to come from Him which refuse to be explained away as purely figurative.² He refrains from details; He can yet speak of "eternal life" as in store for those who shall enter in.³ His conception throughout is mainly—not perhaps exclusively—of a Kingdom to come down from above. To come down soon—of that He is quite certain. But the exact "when" is hidden from Him; it is a secret which is known to God alone (Mk. xiii. 32).⁴

Thus much, for the time being, as to the conceptions of Jesus relative to that Kingdom of God which was His absorbing thought.

¹ Mt. viii. 11=Lk. xiii. 29. *Sc.* at the Messianic feast.

² Feine, *op. cit.*, pp. 114 f.

³ Mk. x. 30=Mt. xx. 29=Lk. xviii. 30. The words which speak of abundant recompense in the age which now is may be of doubtful genuineness; scarcely those which contain the promise of "eternal life"? (*S.N.T.*, i. p. 172). What, then, does the Synoptic Jesus mean by "eternal life"? No exact definition comes from Him; an inference might be that His thought is of full communion with God under conditions where death has ceased to be. With the Johannine Christ "eternal life" is identified with knowledge (John xvii. 3).

⁴ A verse which, in the opinion of Shailer Mathews (*Messianic Hope*, p. 117), "sounds much like a gloss or editorial comment." Its genuineness is far more likely.

II. *What Jesus held respecting Resurrection, Judgment, the Hereafter generally.*

1. Resurrection. Jesus takes the resurrection for granted. It is evidently connected by Him with the subject of His Proclamation; we might note, by anticipation, that it is equally connected with the idea of final judgment.¹ Our business is with Sayings about resurrection; the beliefs and conceptions which they appear to indicate.

Here the crucial passage is that which relates the dilemma proposed by the Sadducees and the reply of Jesus.² According to the former, the Law of Moses has nothing whatever to say about resurrection, so neither have they; the doctrine, in short, is rejected by them: "Sadducees who say there is no resurrection." They are convicted of error; that which they deny Jesus affirms: "when they rise from the dead" — "as touching the dead that they rise." If the passage as a whole be open to suspicion,³ it at least witnesses to His fixed belief on the main point.

According to Jesus, then, "the dead" are to "rise"; to rise, that is, at a resurrection. The question is: who precisely are indicated? In other words, is the thought of a general resurrection, or of a resurrection in which some, and some only, are to participate?

¹ Feine, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 156. But cf. *E. B.*, ii. 1375.

² Mk. xii. 25 ff. = Mt. xxii. 30 ff. = Lk. xx. 35 ff. According to N. Schmidt (*Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 283) the answer of Jesus "showed that He did not hold the common Pharisaic view," but "believed that those who were accounted worthy of a resurrection were raised immediately after death." Schneider (*Jesus als Philosoph*, p. 16) evidently thinks that, in the mind of Jesus, the resurrection was no more than a bare contingency.

³ *S. N. T.*, i. 187; Montefiore, *Syn. Gosp.*, i. 286.

The latter theory finds support in Sayings peculiar to the Third Evangelist; thus in the section already instanced: "they that are accounted worthy to attain to . . . the resurrection from the dead" (Lk. xx. 35); thus in an express allusion to "the resurrection of the just" (Lk. xiv. 14).¹ Were the genuineness of the Sayings well assured the conclusion would naturally be that Jesus looked for a resurrection of the righteous dead only: "in the resurrection, therefore, the wicked have no part."² It might even seem, although this is not likely,³ that the thought of Jesus is of two resurrections—in which case we should remark a distinction between "the resurrection of the just" and that of "the righteous and the wicked."⁴ But while the appeal to such Sayings is not exactly safe,⁵ there are others, not far to seek, which point—not altogether certainly—in the opposite direction; if by implication the men of Nineveh were to be included in the resurrection (Mt. xii. 41 f. = Lk. xi. 31 f.), sinners as well as righteous might possibly be among them.⁶ What Jesus really held on this point is not easy to determine. A tentative conclusion might be that He anticipated a general resurrection;⁷ and here

¹ Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 15: "The dead in Christ shall rise first." But when Paul prefaces his remarks with *τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν λέγομεν ἐν λόγῳ Κυρίου*, he is appealing, not to any Word actually spoken on earth, but to some "revelation."

² *E. B.*, ii. 1375; O. Holtzmann, *Life of Jesus*, 435 note.

³ "Es fehlt jede Spur von einer doppelten Auferstehung," J. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. III.

⁴ Cf. H. J. Holtzman, *H. C. N. T.*, i. 381.

⁵ Lk. xix. 14 is perhaps "ein Fremdkörper im Synoptischen Text" (P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 144).

⁶ Yet it is affirmed that they "repented at the preaching of Jonah."

⁷ *R. G. G.*, i. 762.

an appeal, perhaps, lies to a Saying of the Johannine Christ: "the hour cometh in which all that are in the tombs shall hear His voice, and shall come forth" (Jn. v. 28).¹

Jesus, then, expects a resurrection. How, we ask next, does He conceive of resurrection-conditions; "with what manner of body," according to Him, are the dead to rise? An answer comes from a section already instanced: "when they shall rise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage; but are as angels in heaven";² on the assumption of substantial genuineness it might be fairly urged "that what Jesus here dwells on is the inadequacy of human power for the apprehension of a world which cannot be compared with the present. Those who rise from the dead belong to a higher world; that world man, with all his penetration and learning, does not understand."³ Or again: "those who share in that risen life will have bodies other than they had on earth."⁴ Or again: "the conditions of the resurrection life are unlike those of the present life."⁵ Jesus, then, declines to think of a "mere continuation of the earthly, corporeal existence, including the marriage tie . . . the risen would be like the angels in heaven, and therefore would enjoy a higher form of existence, freed

¹ It may be that this Saying, so nearly related to the Synoptic representation, is based on some genuine utterance of Jesus. The contrast between it and the significant reply to Martha placed by the Fourth Evangelist in His lips in the story of the Raising of Lazarus: "I am the resurrection" (Jn. xi. 25), is remarkable.

² Mk. xii. 25. Luke amplifies: "neither can they die any more" (Lk. xx. 36).

³ O. Holtzman, *Life of Jesus*, p. 435.

⁴ *S.N.T.*, i. p. 186.

⁵ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 285.

from the earthly body.”¹ No word comes from Him as to a resurrection of the flesh”;² He has, indeed, been held to suggest that “in the life of the resurrection a man’s outward form is the same which he had when he died”: “it is good for thee to enter into the Kingdom of God with one eye”;³ one eye plucked out in this life, hence one eye only for the resurrection-body. The risen body, it might be said, is apparently conceived of as performing similar functions to the earthly body; thus, *e.g.* in the allusion to those who are to sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob at a common meal;⁴ thus again (if the reference really be to the resurrection and not to what would happen while the disciples were still alive), in the Saying attributed to Jesus: “that ye may eat and drink at my table.”⁵ The question then is: how much in all this is imagery and how much literal fact? To spiritualize throughout would be rash; we are not necessarily driven to take everything in its baldest sense. In any case, we refuse to dogmatize too hastily on the strength of the Sayings instanced; well has it been said: “realistic interpretation is out of place; it is the way of expressing supreme happiness, which Jesus is using for something which is far beyond the literal sense of the words.”⁶ Yet we are constrained to add: “it remains problematical in what form Jesus thought of the resurrection.”⁷

¹ Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 59.

² J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 110; *R. G. G.*, i. 762.

³ Mk. ix. 47; cf. Mt. v. 29. One of the “doubly-attested Sayings” (Burkitt, *Gospel Hist.*, p. 158f.). And see Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 232.

⁴ Mt. viii. 11 = Lk. xiii. 29.

⁵ Lk. xxii. 30.

⁶ von Dobschütz, *Exp.*, March, 1910, p. 209.

⁷ Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 415.

One other point. Is the resurrection altogether indispensable in the thought of Jesus? That He could conceive of the new life entered apart from a resurrection is to be inferred from a Parable (Dives and Lazarus, Lk. xvi. 19 ff.) which tells of men, portrayed with all the distinctive features of corporeal existence,¹ who had actually entered the new life at the hour of death,² while a similar conclusion might be drawn from the beautiful episode of the Penitent Thief (Lk. xxiii. 39 ff.).³ The probability must be reckoned with that there was really such a second conception on the part of Jesus. Absolute uniformity of conception is not met with in Him.⁴

2. Judgment. It has been observed already that the Kingdom of God, its near approach, was the central feature in the proclamation of Jesus. Let us remark here that, even if it be true that the words "believe in the Gospel" (Mk. i. 15) belong to a day when the term "Gospel" had been coined and become general,⁵ hints are not wanting that the message brought by Him was mainly conceived of as a "glad tidings." The fact remains that the sharp "repent ye" of the proclamation strikes a note which, deepen-

¹ J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 110. But cf. Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden*, ii. p. 623.

² Montefiore, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 1003; *S.N.T.*, i. p. 489.

³ That the story is strictly historical is open to grave doubt; it is in the teeth of Mk. xv. 32. For questions raised by it with regard to the Resurrection of Jesus, the Ascension, see *S.N.T.*, i. p. 521; cf. H. J. Holtzmann, *H.C.N.T.*, i. p. 419.

⁴ Cf. Knopf, *Zukunftshoffungen*, p. 41; Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁵ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 41; Wellhausen, *Einh.*, p. 109. Is it really unsafe to refer the term to Jesus Himself, nor yet only on the strength of 1 Cor. ix. 15?

ing with later stages of the ministry, is significant of a coming day of wrath, of repentance as means of escape from impending doom. To a very large extent, no doubt, there is a marked contrast between Jesus and the Baptist. If the latter's thought be of the sword of omnipotence, that of Jesus is of grace and mercy; ¹ demanding repentance (with demands which go far deeper than the Baptist's), His conception is not so much of doom to be escaped as of fitness to obtain blessings.² He nevertheless took up and continued the Baptist's teaching as likewise persuaded that "a day of the Lord" was at hand;³ the note struck by Him is equally a note of Judgment.

He assumes the Judgment as a matter of course. Thus, when He says: "it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city" (Mt. x. 15 = Lk. x. 12); "it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment than for you" (Mt. xi. 22, 24 = Lk. x. 14). That there will come, and come soon, a "day" which is emphatically "that day," a day which will be the "day of judgment," is His fixed belief. When the Johannine Christ speaks of the "last day" (Jn. vi. 39 f.), He equally alludes to "the day of judgment."

"The nearness of the Kingdom of Heaven (or of God) means for Jesus, as it meant for the Baptist, the nearness of the judgment."⁴ That the two

¹ P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu*, i. p. 40.

² Cf. Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Montefiore, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 463.

³ J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 68. Yet it is true to say of Him: "er liess diese Parole nicht immer wieder in die Ohren der Hörer gellen." Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 374.

⁴ O. Holtzmann, *Life of Jesus*, p. 171. Yet Mt. iii. 3 notwithstanding-

things are bound up together in the mind of Jesus is evident from Mk. ix. 43 ff.;¹ where the idea is a verdict delivered, of sentence pronounced, at the coming of the new era. As in the parables, so here, we are pointed to "the end of the world." If the explanation of the Parable of the Tares and Wheat (Mt. xiii. 37 ff.) belongs to a later period, the words of the parable itself—"in the time of harvest"—of precisely similar significance to "the consummation of the age" of the Parable of the Net cast into the sea (Mt. xiii. 47)—may surely be referred to Jesus. In the words: "so shall it be in the end of the world; the angels shall come forth, and sever the wicked from among the righteous" (Mt. xiii. 49), we have at all events the reflection of His own belief.

Who, then, are to be judged? The Jewish nation certainly; allusion is expressly made to Jews who will be "shut out" (Mk. viii. 11). With the Parable of the Talents (or Pounds) the vista widens; there are no specifically Jewish features in "the servants" of the parable. It becomes wider still in the picture of the Great Assize (Mt. xxv. 31 ff.): that the inclusive "all the nations" is actually based on some genuine utterance of Jesus is rendered probable by a Saying which, already instanced (Mt. xii. 45 f. = Lk. xi. 31 f.), points not only to time present but to time past, and takes account of both quick and dead.

ing, "it is legitimate to doubt whether the Baptist himself ever spoke of the Kingdom of God" (J. Armitage Robinson, *J.T.S.*, xiv. p. 199). Jahn (*Über die Person Jesu*, p. 4) remarks: "Die Ankündigung des Reiches Gottes ist wohl aus dem Leben Jesu Mt. iv. 17 in das des Täufers zurückgetragen."

¹J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 112.

The thought of Jesus is evidently of humanity in the aggregate. It might even be that, on the assumption that He shares the belief of demons: "art thou come hither to torment us before the time?" (Mt. viii. 29), the powers of evil are to be included in the judgment.

On what will the judgment turn? Not, it would appear, solely on questions of nationality. Remark-ing the distinction between "righteous" and "wicked" (Mt. xiii. 41 f.), we fasten on the Saying: "then shall He render unto every man according to his deeds" (Mt. xvi. 27); it is one which gains in significance when taken in connection with the words: "not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven" (Mt. vii. 21). As in the picture of the Great Assize, so here; the exalted moral standard is everything. The question is, in short, of character and conduct; as for mere professions of orthodox belief, they will avail nothing at the day of judgment.¹

Two more questions suggest themselves. The one is: who will be the Judge?—it shall be reserved for subsequent consideration. The other shall be discussed forthwith: what will the verdict carry with it?

3. The Hereafter, as conceived of by Jesus, for "the righteous" and for "the wicked."

The Righteous. They are figured by the Wheat (of a Parable already instanced, Mt. xiii. 30),

¹ If the Johannine Christ be continually concerned to require belief in Himself, He apparently assumes right conduct in the profound Saying, Jn. iii. 21. For the significance of *ποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν* see von Dobschütz, *Das Apos. Zeitalter*, pp. 68 f.; Westcott, *St. John's Gospel*, in *loc.*

which, in the time of harvest, will be gathered into the barn; it is said of them (in the explanation of the Parable) that they shall "shine forth as the sun in the Kingdom of their Father." In the world to come their portion is eternal life (Mk. x. 30). "Good and faithful servants" as they have proved themselves, they each one hear it said: "enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." They are to be even as the angels. We ask, perhaps: is full and final blessedness conceived of as at once entered, or as coming when an intervening period of partial bliss has terminated? A conclusive answer might possibly be found in the recorded Saying: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world" (Mt. xxv. 34). Where, then, is the scene laid? In a renovated world, on a transfigured earth?

The Wicked. Once more the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares is of deep significance. Plainly does it assert that, like as the Tares are gathered into bundles and burnt, so shall it be with "them that do iniquity"—not to say with evil itself; they are to be "cast into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Again a note of pessimism is perceptible as Jesus tells of those who are to be cast out from the Kingdom—"cast forth into the outer darkness" (Mt. viii. 11 = Lk. xiii. 28). A belief in a "Gehenna," a "Gehenna of fire"—"where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched" (Mk. x. 42 ff.)—is evidently accepted by Him. Unless His conception be of a resurrection in which the wicked are to have no part at all (and this is unlikely), He emphatically points to everlast-

ing punishment for the soul or disembodied spirit in a region of everlasting torment. At the same time, He apparently conceives of degrees of punishment (Lk. xii. 48). If the idea of annihilation is by no means foreign to Him (Mk. viii. 36 = Mt. x. 28), His thought sometimes is of punishment as finite, limited in duration. From what is, perhaps, a conflated passage (Mt. xii. 32 = Lk. xii. 10 ; cf. Mk. iii. 28f.), an inference might be that forgiveness in the next life is not impossible. That the Parable of Dives and Lazarus lends itself to the idea of moral improvement in the hereafter is, however, doubtful.

III. *The rôle assigned by Jesus to Himself in the drama of The Last Things.*

It is clear that, in some way or other, He connects Himself with the Kingdom of His own proclamation. Where He is, there the Kingdom is ; that such is His own belief might be argued from a Saying referred to above : "if I by the spirit (or with the finger) of God cast out devils, no doubt the Kingdom of God is come upon you." The Saying is further suggestive, if not of a special relation to God, of acts performed by Him, at any rate, in the consciousness of a divine mission. We remark the question of the Baptist ; highly significant of current expectations and of impatience, or rather doubt, on the part of the questioner, it elicits a reply which conveys the impression that Jesus identified Himself, if indirectly and with reservations, with an expected personage who is manifestly alluded to by a familiar designation.¹ Other designations being met with

¹ Mt. xi. 2 ff. = Lk. vii. 18 ff. The story of the Embassy from the

which, whether applied to Him by others or actually adopted by Himself, are of marked significance, their separate discussion shall be taken in hand.

1. The Christ. The familiar use of the word Christ, as a proper name, is traceable to very early days,¹ although primarily it is not, of course, a proper name at all, but a title, a designation. As such it was used in the first instance²;—"The Christ" (not simply "Christ"; in the Greek $\delta\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$) being the rendering, perhaps not altogether adequate,³ of the Hebrew word MASCHIAH (in Aramaic, MESIHA), and this, again, means "The Anointed." The designation now under discussion is, then, equivalent to "The Messiah" of contemporary beliefs.

Is it a designation which was actually employed and adopted by Jesus, and, if so, in what sense?

An appeal might lie to Mk. i. 34: "He suffered not the devils to speak because they knew Him"—"knew Him to be the Christ."⁴ The narrative, be it observed, says no word of any claim explicitly advanced by Jesus; according to the representation His action is, nevertheless, tantamount to an admission

Baptist stood in Q and is doubtless based on fact, if in all probability the Baptist was still at liberty. "The Coming One," if a designation of the Messiah, points back to Ps. cxviii. 26. Mt. xi. 2 expressly connects the phrase with the Messiah, "the works of the Christ," but the reading in D is "the works of Jesus." Yet it is by no means certain that by $\delta\ \epsilon\rho\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ the Baptist meant the Messiah. For an interesting discussion of the question see Bacon, *Exp.*, x. pp. 1-18.

¹ So already with S. Paul. See Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 245; Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 41; J. Weiss, *Christus*, p. 19.

² The original significance is clear from Acts ii. 36, v. 42, ix. 22.

³ J. Weiss, *Christus*, p. 11.

⁴ So many ancient authorities. See Lk. iv. 41.

of a fact which, known to the demons,¹ He, for some mysterious reason, forbids the demons to disclose. It being urged, however, that we are on unsafe ground with the story,² we pass on.

We may take next the famous passage Mk. viii. 27 ff. = Mt. xvi. 13 ff. = Lk. ix. 18 ff. It points to a later stage in the Ministry. The scene is laid in the neighbourhood of Caesarea Philippi. Jesus propounds a question and receives an answer. The reports vary; yet, in spite of contentions to the contrary, the conclusion appears well founded that to a question of Jesus: "who do ye say that I am?" there actually came a response which is reported with substantial accuracy in the earliest Gospel: "Thou art the Christ." "It is generally admitted that Jesus accepted the messianic title at Caesarea Philippi."³ "Accepted":—of any claim directly advanced by Him there is again no word; we might indeed infer some uncertainty on the part of Jesus, a consequent eagerness for reassurance. The strict injunction to secrecy, again, rings strangely. We cannot but ask: if He really knew Himself, or believed Himself, to be the Messiah, why this shrinking from publicity? wherefore the strict injunction: "He charged them that they should tell no man of Him." Thus Mark. The later Synoptists are more explicit; it is the fact

¹ Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

² It is rejected by Wrede (*Messiasgeheimnis, in loco.*). Contemporary beliefs with regard to demons are discussed by Heitmüller in *R.G.G.*, iii. 370 f.

³ Shailer Mathews, *Messianic Hope*, p. 96; Barth, *op. cit.*, pp. 242 f. Wrede, on the other hand, is not willing to hold "das Petrusbekenntnis für ein geschichtliches Factum" (*Messiasgeheimnis*, pp. 217, 238).

of His Messiahship that is to be kept a profound secret. Mark, no doubt, means this.

Again we pass on. Are we tempted to pause at Mk. ix. 41, where we read: "because ye are Christ's" (ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι χριστοῦ ἐστέ)? Doubt attaches to the words; the chances are that with Mt. x. 40: "in the name of a disciple," we are nearer to the original utterance, while the Marcan version betrays the hand of a later editor.¹ That the section Mk. xii. 35 ff. (with the Mt. and Lk. parallels) is to the point is obvious; the significant question: "what think ye of the Christ?" shall be discussed, however, in connection with another designation. The narratives of the Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem, if in the highest degree suggestive,² shall be considered later on, and we will pass to the closing scenes. It is to see Jesus before Jewish Sanhedrin and Roman procurator,³ to stand by the Cross of Calvary.

What of the Marcan report (Mk. xiv. 61 ff.)? The High Priest, we are told, puts a question, and in solemn form: "Art thou the Christ?"; the reply of Jesus: "and Jesus said, I am," is nothing short of a formal acknowledgment of His Messiahship.⁴ In the Mt. parallel (Mt. xxvi. 63 ff.) the question is so worded that Jesus is put on His oath; if there be no explicit "I am" in His recorded answer, His "thou hast

¹ Swete, *S. Mark, in loc.*; Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 231.

² Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 243 f.

³ Heitmüller (*R. G. G.*, iii 377) declines to attach much weight to what (as he alleges) were merely reports which had got abroad. They find, however, some confirmation in the sentence actually pronounced and carried into effect?

⁴ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 352.

said " has assuredly the force of asseveration.¹ The Lucan report, again, varies (Lk. xxii. 67 ff.); if the question be practically identical, the "if I tell you ye will not believe" of Jesus, while falling short of a positive assertion, is scarcely equivalent to a "No, I am not." The scene changes to Pilate's judgment-hall; remarking by anticipation that the Messiah of current expectations would be "King of the Jews," we note the significance of Pilate's question (Mk. xv. 2 ff.); the "thou sayest" of the reply of Jesus might again be understood to mean "I am."² Whether "the statement about the priests and the scribes (who mocked) may be rejected with the utmost confidence"³ is, perhaps, a matter of opinion; similarly with regard to the reported taunt: "let the Christ, the King of Israel, now come down from the Cross, that we may see and believe" (Mk. xv. 32). In any case we fasten on the Inscription. The words "The King of the Jews" (Mk. xv. 26) are only intelligible on the assumption that some claim to be the Christ—that is, the Messiah—had actually been advanced.

For the moment we sum up. It has been contended that Jesus never believed Himself to be, never claimed to be, the Messiah at all";⁴ and it might be perhaps admitted that in two of the sections instanced (the demoniacs, Peter's confession at Caesarea

¹ Precisely as in Mt. xxvi. 25, where the words (ὁ ἐλπας) are spoken to Judas. Jesus answers the High Priest "mit einem unzweideutigen Ja" (Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 244).

² "Denn das ὁ λέγεις muss eine Bejahung sein" (Wrede, *Messiasgeheimnis* p. 45).

³ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 370. But cf. Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁴ So Wrede, *Messiasgeheimnis*, pp. 227, 229;—a work of which J. Weiss remarks that it is "durch eine ungesund kritische und|skep-

Philippi) there are features which occasion doubt. The contentions are, however, bound to make shipwreck on the rock of narratives which point to the last scene of all. That in whatever sense and at whatever period, Jesus did actually believe Himself to be, avow Himself, the Messiah is surely proved by the fact that He suffered the Roman penalty of crucifixion.¹

At whatever period. The question will come up again ; for the moment we simply note it. In whatever sense ; here the point is of an alleged recognition on the part of Jesus that He was not the Messiah of contemporary expectations.² The designation, it might almost seem, is adopted by Him unwillingly and of necessity. In form He adopts it ; yet He conveys an impression that, utterly inadequate to His own conceptions, He falls back on it as the only form available,³ and one to which He is evidently

tische Stimmung gelähmt" (*Das älteste Evang.*, p. vi). Feine, alluding to Wrede (and Wellhausen), says : "Es gehört aber grosse Gewalttätigkeit dazu, die evangelische Ueberlieferung so ins Unrecht zu setzen" (*op. cit.*, p. 37). See also von Soden, *Wichtigsten Fragen*, 71 f.

¹ P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu*, i. p. 158; Mehlhorn, in *Das sogennt. Apos. Glaubensbekenntnis*, p. 53. "The trial proves that a Messiah in some sense Jesus did claim to be" (Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 102). And see von Soden, *Wichtigsten Fragen*, p. 85. There is nevertheless ground for the remark of J. Weiss (*S.N.T.*, i. 314): "Obwohl die Urgemeinde an die Messianität Jesu fest glaubte, lässt doch die Ueberlieferung auf alle Fragen nach seiner Messianität ihn fast niemals mit einem runden Ja antworten." And cf. Shailer Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 106; Holtzmann, *Das messian. Bewusstsein Jesu*, p. 50.

² "Wenn man dem Worte die Bedeutung lässt in der es allgemein verstanden wurde, so ist Jesus also allerdings nicht der Messias gewesen, und hatte es auch nicht sein wollen" (Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 388). To the same effect Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

³ According to Bousset (*Jesus*, p. 180) "the Messianic idea was . . . a

concerned to give a new content.¹ The question of actual or potential Messiahship is raised; does He believe Himself Messiah already or destined to become such in God's good time?² This, again, will be referred to later on.

2. Son of David. Contemporary beliefs, as we shall see in due course, expected a Messiah from the royal house of David. The question now is: did Jesus, sharing such beliefs, believe Himself to be, and was He, of Davidic lineage?

According to several narratives the designation, to say the least, is not rejected by Him. Thus Mk. x. 47 ff. = Mt. xx. 30 ff. = Lk. xviii. 38 ff.: an appeal for help is made to Him, "thou Son of David"; at once He halts; at His command the blind man³ is brought into His presence. Thus, possibly, in the story of the Woman of Canaan; but the phrase is absent from the Marcan version, and it is urged that Mt. xv. 22 is "an addendum the historical character of which is very doubtful."⁴ We pass on to the story, already touched on, of the Triumphal Entry; if rejected by some critics,⁵ it doubtless has a basis in historic fact⁶ and declines to be set aside. But inasmuch as the reports as to the

heavy burden . . . a conviction which he could never enjoy with a whole heart."

¹ And yet He Himself insists on the necessity of new wine-skins for the new wine (Mk. ii 22 = Mt. ix 17 = Lk. v 37 f.).

² "Noch nicht . . . der Gesalbte" (P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu*, i. p. 121).

³ The First Evangelist, fond of doubling, tells of two blind men.

⁴ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 657.

⁵ Merx regards it as a later interpolation.

⁶ Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 54. (Of the Marcan representation.)

wording of the shout of welcome vary,¹ it is not absolutely certain that Jesus did then—if not till then—permit Himself to be hailed with the “Hosanna to the Son of David,”² and it may be that the story received its distinctively Messianic colouring at a later period.³

With Mk. xii. 35 f. = Mt. xxii. 41 ff. = Lk. xx. 41 we arrive at what is admittedly the crucial passage.⁴ According to the Marcan report, Jesus asks: “how say the Scribes that the Christ is the Son of David?” To the same effect the Third Gospel: “how say they that the Christ is David’s son?” Differently the First Evangelist; to the question of Jesus: “what think ye of the Christ? whose Son is He?” the Pharisees make answer: “they say unto Him, the Son of David.” In all probability he, the First Evangelist, is farthest away from the words actually spoken; the Marcan version is preferable, and it goes on to tell of Jesus quoting from a Psalm which, in its original significance, spoke of the accession of some earthly Israelitish King, but which evidently bore for Him as for His contemporaries a Messianic significance.⁵ The pointed question is put by Him: “David therefore himself calleth him (the Christ, the Messiah) Lord; and whence is he his Son?” Or, to paraphrase after the manner of the First Evan-

¹ Cf. Mk. xi. 12; Mt. xxi. 7; Lk. xix. 38.

² As Barth affirms, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

³ Cf. Dalman (*Words of Jesus*, p. 222), who cites Wellhausen, *I. J. G.*, p. 381 note. Yet it should be observed that the citation is from 3rd ed., and that the note disappears from 6th ed., in which the text (pp. 379 f.) is re-cast.

⁴ Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁵ *S. A. T.*, iii. i, p. 237.

gelist: if David then calls the Messiah his Lord, is it at all conceivable that the Messiah can be David's son?

We remark that Jesus does not expressly identify Himself with the Messiah of His own question; that He is, however, thinking of Himself is a safe conjecture. May it be assumed with equal confidence that He knows Himself to be actually of Davidic lineage? It is not so certain. What—so He asks in effect (of hearers specified by the First Evangelist only)—is your theory of the Messiah's descent?—you hold, do you not, that He must be of the royal house of David; what, then, are your grounds for asserting that He is David's son? Are we to decide from what follows that He Himself thinks otherwise?

A real difficulty confronts us. The passage under consideration has perplexed the commentators. Not only do explanations differ and illustrate opposite opinions, but by at least one scholar¹ the narrative is ruled out. It is not, however, so easy to discredit it.² A conjecture, then, which meets us is that Jesus will make it clear that His Messianic claim is absolutely independent of Davidic descent;³ by implication, it is urged, He claims to be the Messiah, although not the son of David.⁴ Or again, we are asked to see Him, just because conscious of a serious obstacle to His recognition as the Messiah, bent on showing that current opinion as to the Davidic sonship of the

¹ Wrede.

² "Unbedingt fest steht die Geschichtlichkeit des Vorganges" (Holtzmann, *Das Mess. Bewusstsein*, p. 26). "Die Authentie von Mc. xii. 35-37, lässt sich schwer anfechten" (Wellhausen, *Einl.*, p. 93 note).

³ P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 353 f.

⁴ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 290.

Messiah was based upon an error which was opposed to David's own words.¹ The "apparently obvious interpretation," we are further told, is "that Jesus believed and implied that the Messiah was not David's son in physical descent."² Must we then, on the strength of this one passage, leap to the conclusion that Jesus did not regard Himself—not to say the Messiah—as springing from David's line? A way of escape is suggested, and it deserves attention. Jesus really shares the current belief; what He really asks is: what about the fact that the Messiah is David's son while David speaks of Him as Lord? Then He (Jesus) seeks to reconcile the apparently opposing facts thus: in the perfected Kingdom, when fleshly relationships have disappeared, when the Messiah has been exalted, then, indeed, the Messiah will be David's Lord, he and David (like all the sons of the resurrection) equally God's sons.³ It might be objected that the explanation is too suggestive of reduced conceptions of the Messiah, of an undue exaltation of David; "the conjunction of Lordship and Sonship meant, what the Scribes and the Pharisees did not recognize, that the Messiah was *more* than a royal descendant of David the King—that He had a higher relation still, a peculiar relation to God which made Him Lord even of David."⁴ Or again, "Jesus does not on the one hand

¹ Pfeiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 61. Cf. Wellhausen, *Das Evglm. Marci*, p. 104; Meyer, *Was uns Jesus heute ist*, p. 22.

² Montefiore, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 1040; cf. Jahn, *Über die Person Jesu*, p. 47.

³ Spitta, *Streitfragen*, pp. 158 ff.

⁴ Salmond, *S. Mark (Century Bible)*, p. 288.

dispute the inference, or, on the other, press the identification. He contents Himself with pointing out a difficulty, in the solution of which lay the key to the whole problem of His Person and Mission."¹

Truly it is a case where "the great authorities differ"; and it would be rash to venture other than tentative conclusions as to what is, in reality, a two-fold question.

To begin with. Nowhere does Jesus expressly affirm Himself to be of David's line. But again, whether it be true or not that, in regard to the Messiah, He deliberately repudiates the designation Son of David,² it is far from clear that He explicitly repudiates it in regard to Himself. That He was the Son of David was most certainly the conviction of the primitive Church—of that there is abundant evidence;³ yet it is another matter whether the belief, no doubt constant, rested upon ascertained fact or merely illustrates a survival (even in the case of Paul) of specifically Jewish dogma. It cannot be said of the genealogies (Mt. i. 1 ff., Lk. iii. 23 ff.) that they afford a conclusive answer; just because there are two, and they in discord, it is open to question whether any genealogical tree whatsoever was in the possession of the family of Jesus.⁴ It is not easy to arrive at certainty. If the statement that "according to the earliest sources

¹ Swete, *S. Mark*, p. 288.

² Baldensperger, *Das messian. Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, pp. 169 ff.

³ Feine, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff.

⁴ Heitmüller, in *R.G.G.*, iii. 364. Barth, on the other hand, remarks: "Beide Listen zu verwerfen sehe ich keinen Grund, sondern die des Lucas wird das richtige sein" (*op. cit.*, p. 270). But cf. Jahn, *Über die Person Jesu*, p. 2.

attainable Jesus did unreservedly represent Himself as David's son,"¹ appears over-confident, there is nevertheless room for the conjecture that He probably was (and knew Himself to be) a descendant of David²—if only on the side of Joseph—if only in virtue of Joseph's recognition of Mary's child.³ On this assumption He may, on occasion, have accepted the designation Son of David.⁴

Secondly. The conclusion appears next door to inevitable that, even if His Davidic descent be a fact, Jesus attaches no vital importance to it.⁵ At most He accepts the fact, and with it certain conceptions associated with the fact; yet conscious that He is Himself (in whatever sense) the Messiah, He prefers to base His claims to the Messiahship on other and far higher grounds.⁶ It may be that He makes it plain that the Messiah of some contemporary beliefs He neither is nor desires to be. If so one might almost hear Him say: Whatever I am and whatever

¹ Spitta, *Streitfragen*, p. 172.

² Schweitzer (*Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, pp. 392 f.; *Die psychiatrische Beurteilung Jesu*, p. 17) decides to this effect.

³ Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 319 ff.

⁴ This is not doubted by Scott (*op. cit.*, p. 181). The silence of the Fourth Evangelist (in the face of objection, Jn. vii. 40 ff.) is, not unnaturally, variously interpreted. On the one hand it is regarded as his disavowal of statements contained in the Birth-narratives (*H.C.N.T.*, iv. p. 125; cf. *S.N.T.*, ii. p. 787). According to Westcott (*St. John's Gosp.*, *in loco.*) "he simply relates the words of the multitude who were unacquainted with" the circumstances. To the same effect B. Weiss, *Das Johannesevangelium als einheitliches Werk geschichtlich erklärt*, p. 158.

⁵ Cf. Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, i. p. 146.

⁶ Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 71. It is here perhaps significant that, according to the representation, Pilate regards Him as anything but a dangerous personage.

I may become, I am not the mere Davidic King of current expectation.¹

3. The Son of Man. This designation meets us again and again in the Gospel narratives.² Let us remark at the outset that nowhere in the Gospels is the designation applied to Jesus by others. It is placed throughout in the lips of Jesus Himself.

Now, the designation has a curious sound in the English. It is said to be no less curious in the Greek: $\delta \ \upsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma \ \tau\omicron\upsilon \ \alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$ ³;—and here let us note a conjecture that the Greek phrase itself may actually have been used by Jesus.⁴ As we remind ourselves, however, that Aramaic, the popular dialect of Palestine, was His ordinary vehicle of speech, we accordingly inquire as to the Aramaic original of the Greek phrase in question, and here we are pointed to the Aramaic word *Barnasha*. Literally translated, it means indeed the Son of Man; yet a possibility must be reckoned with that it was the one and only term available in Aramaic for a man—*i.e.* for any child of man.⁵ If this be really so the question naturally arises: why that singular Greek rendering of a term which merely signified a human being? The translators, whoever they were, might, that is, have set down $\delta \ \alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, “the man.” They have nevertheless declined to do

¹ *S.N.T.*, i. p. 190; Wellhausen, *Einkl.*, p. 93.

² It occurs 30 times in Mt., 14 times in Mk., in Lk. 25 times, about a dozen times in Jn. But for the solitary instance Acts vii. 56 it is never again met with in the New Testament.

³ Burkitt, *Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus*, p. 64.

⁴ Plummer, *S. Matthew*, p. xxvi. To the same effect Driver, *Hastings' D.B.*, iv. 583.

⁵ Cf. P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu*, ii. 170; Wellhausen, *Einkl.*, p. 39.

so. They prefer that articulated expression $\acute{o} \upsilon\iota\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \hat{\nu} \alpha\upsilon\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$,¹ which for ordinary Greek readers would simply accentuate the idea of sonship, of human descent, an idea altogether absent from the Aramaic original.²

How is this to be accounted for? In all likelihood distinctions have been drawn; wherever it appeared to the translators that the term *Barnascha* had been employed in a specially significant way they had resort to the specially significant rendering; in other words, they decided from what actually lay before them what the rendering should be.³ In that case, when they have resort to the Greek equivalent for The Son of Man of our English version, they are apparently concerned to bring out, and lay stress on, some special significance. It is not so much a question of "the man" or of "a man"; rather "*the* man," a particular individual or personage. An idea is, in short, suggested which might be well brought out were the term printed between inverted commas, thus: "The Son of Man."⁴ It is, perhaps, well expressed thus: "the Man—you know who." On the assumption, then, that the designation is genuine in the lips of Jesus, the meaning might be this: "The Man—you know whom I speak of."⁵

To illustrate—leaving it as yet undetermined whether the singular designation was actually employed by Jesus. There is the familiar saying:

¹ In Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14, it is unarticulated.

² Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

³ J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 164.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Burkitt, *Earliest Sources*, pp. 66 f.

"foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head" (Mt. viii. 20 = Lk. ix. 58);—here, to all appearance, a particular person is in the speaker's mind; such a rendering as "man hath not where to lay his head" would apparently be out of place.¹ On the other hand there is the equally familiar saying: "man shall not live by bread alone" (Mt. iv. 4 = Lk. iv. 4);—here, obviously, the thought is of men generally; to render "the Son of Man shall not live by bread alone" would miss the point, the question not now being of any one specified person.²

We proceed to ask: did Jesus actually employ that designation "The Son of Man" which might be paraphrased as above "The Man—you know whom I mean"?

The question, an exceedingly complicated one, is really threefold. Is the designation genuine in the lips of Jesus? On the assumption that He actually employed it, of whom is it employed? The same assumption being made, what conceptions does He appear to read into it?

(a) The designation, The Son of Man, is its use traceable to Jesus?

It is certainly placed in His lips by our primary authorities. Thus in the Saying which, instanced a moment ago, stood in Q, and hence places us on tolerably safe ground; that the phrase is a later insertion when the original was a simple "I" ("I have not where

¹ But cf. Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 63; P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 331; N. Schmidt, *Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 111.

² Montefiore, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 562 f. See J. Weiss (*Predigt Jesu*, pp. 165, 174) on the two Sayings.

to lay my head ")¹ is hard to believe ; the genuineness of the Saying as it stands—it points perhaps to a later stage of the Ministry—is scarcely open to doubt. The same thing holds good in the case of Mt. xi. 19 = Lk. vii. 34 : "The Son of Man came eating and drinking"—a section to be referred to again. From Q we turn to Mark ; two reported Sayings shall suffice. Thus Mk. x. 45 : "for even the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister." And Mk. xiv. 62 : "ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power."²

What shall be the conclusion ? It has been contended that the designation, not really used by Jesus at all, dates from a later period, being then substituted, for dogmatic reasons, for the simple "I" which had actually come from Him.³ Such contentions are, however, widely disallowed as purely arbitrary. The mere fact that, according to the Synoptic representation, the designation was never used by others is not without significance for its actual use by Jesus.⁴ Still more significant is its practical disappearance from the New Testament outside the Gospels. It has evidently dropped out of use—and for sufficient reason—but it has not been coined ; on the contrary the authority for it is so strong that the Synoptists are constrained to report it.

It shall be decided that occasionally, not by any

¹ *S.N.T.*, i. p. 303.

² A Saying not to be questioned ; because of it Jesus was handed over to the Roman power. P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 175.

³ *E.B.*, iv. 4740. J. Weiss (*Predigt Jesu*, p. 61) remarks on Wellhausen's "Gewaltstreich."

⁴ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 99.

means as frequently as the records make out,¹ the designation was employed by Jesus.

(b) In His occasional use of the designation to whom does Jesus refer?

The question is not to be answered offhand. We are met by the fact that in certain sections of substantial genuineness the designation is so used as to indicate, apparently, a third person. Thus, in the earliest Gospel: "whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words . . . the Son of Man also shall be ashamed of him" (Mk. viii. 38); thus in a passage which stood in Q: "for as the lightning cometh out of the East . . . so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be" (Mt. xxiv. 27 = Lk. xvii. 24); thus in a Saying which its very difficulty forbids us to reject: "ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come" (Mt. x. 23). In the Marcan passage, we observe, Jesus begins by an express allusion to Himself, while the words which next come from Him are certainly suggestive of a distinct personage.² Precisely the same ambiguity—if ambiguity it be—is discovered in the Saying from Q; "Jesus seems to distinguish Himself from the Son of Man"³ both there and in the Saying which, its perplexing nature notwithstanding, is no doubt faithfully reported by the First Evangelist.⁴ On the other hand, passages are met with which, if charac-

¹ Cf. Feine, *op. cit.*, pp. 63f.; Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 245; J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 175; P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 171; Bousset, *Relig. des Juden.*, p. 254 note.

² Wellhausen, *Einl.*, p. 97.

³ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 1015.

⁴ Who here proves himself "ein treuer Haushalter über die Worte Jesu." *S.N.T.*, i. 310.

terized by a curious indirectness, are strongly suggestive for the other side. Thus Mk. ix. 31: "He taught His disciples, and said unto them, the Son of Man is delivered up into the hands of men." It were safer, perhaps, to appeal to a passage (already alluded to) which stood in Q: "John came neither eating and drinking, and they say: he hath a devil. The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say: behold, a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners" (Mt. xi. 19 = Lk. vii. 34). The one construction possible is surely this: Jesus is instituting a comparison between the Baptist and Himself. In other words, He Himself is the Son of Man of the Saying instanced.

How shall we decide? That the question is beset with difficulty is obvious. The wording is indeed often such as to point away from Jesus to some mysterious personage; nowhere does He expressly identify Himself with the Son of Man of His allusions; a decisive "I am the Son of Man" is not met with. The probability, however, is that He says it in effect;—"it were pure arbitrariness to deny it in face of the comparison which He institutes between Himself and John the Baptist."¹ That Jesus meant Himself is unquestionably the view of the Evangelists;² and it is more than probable that, if in a way so singular as to invite question, He did really designate Himself—to put it more cautiously, connect Himself with the designation—the Son of Man. Yet not, perhaps, in the first instance.³

¹ O. Holtzmann, *Life of Jesus*, p. 167.

² H. J. Holtzmann, *Messian. Bewusstsein*, p. 51.

³ "There may have been a period, in the earlier stage of His ministry,

(c) What conceptions does Jesus seem to read into the designation which He applied, or learned to apply, to Himself?

Nowhere does He proffer an explanation.¹ Is it equally safe to add that, to all appearance, the designation occasions no special surprise on the part of the hearers? We are not expressly informed;² yet, if Jesus' use of the designation had been in the first instance "an enigma, not only to people generally, but to His disciples,"³ it had evidently ceased to be an enigma for those who testify to its actual use by Him. Let us ask: in what connection, or connections, does the designation occur where its use may with tolerable certainty be referred to Jesus?⁴

It is quickly to find ourselves on debated ground. Sharp is the difference of opinion as to the exact moment when (on the assumption of genuineness) the designation first came from the lips of Jesus. On the one hand we are pointed to a late period of the Ministry; it is contended that wherever the designation occurs in sections relative to earlier days it must be rejected as unauthentic;⁵ that it really first meets us

when He distinguished between the Son of man who was to inaugurate the Kingdom and Himself who was only its harbinger" (Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 201).

¹ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. 97.

² By the Synoptists. Jn. xii. 34 is exceptional: "*who is this Son of Man?*"

³ Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 317 (new ed. p. 309).

⁴ It is impossible to believe, with F. W. Newman (*Phases of Faith*), that "He habitually spoke of Himself by the title Son of Man."

⁵ E.g. Mk. ii. 10, 28. Cf *S.N.T.*, i. pp. 91, 96; H. J. Holtzmann, *Messian. Bewusstsein*, pp. 58 ff.; P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 172 f.; Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 79, 91; Pfeiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 8.

Mk. viii. 38 ; that not until after a hoped-for reply had come from Peter did Jesus adopt the designation The Son of Man.¹ On the other hand, it is urged that such contentions are arbitrary and contrary to the evidence. With an appeal both to Mark and Q, passages are instanced to show that, whether speaking to the people or to hostile Pharisees, Jesus did really call Himself the Son of Man in the earlier stages of His ministry.² But is this capable of proof?

What if we leave the exact date an open question? One thing is certain; the designation The Son of Man occurs in a Messianic connection—and, as has been recognized already, Jesus claimed to be (in whatever sense) the Messiah. The conclusion is not far to seek that the designation is connected by Him with the Messiahship; can it also be said that, in His own belief, He is the Messiah in terms of the Son of Man? ³

The statement may not be strictly accurate. It amounts, in effect, to this: Jesus feels Himself, knows Himself, to be already all that the designation carries with it; and it is just here that there is much ground for hesitation. We shall do well to ask: What has Jesus to say about this Son of Man whom, in a mysterious way, He connects with the Messiahship He claims?

Two groups of passages fall for consideration. In the one case they record predictions of the Passion. In the other they speak of glorification.

¹ Heitmüller, in *R. G. G.*, iii. 379.

² Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

³ "Er hat darin den charakteristischen Ausdruck gefunden, welcher

Predictions of the Passion. It has been thought that, in the course of time, another note makes itself perceptible in Sayings which may be safely attributed to Jesus; that, not ceasing to announce the near advent of the Kingdom, a conviction dawns and deepens in Him that the establishment of the Kingdom is contingent on a fateful event which must first happen to Himself. Not so, perhaps, His earlier anticipations. Perhaps He had expected that His appearance at Jerusalem would bring the decisive moment; fierce, no doubt, the conflict that would there await Him, but the issue was assured; God would intervene on His behalf; His recognition and acclamation as Messiah-King would ensue forthwith. Later on He begins to realize that, while God's cause must triumph, it will not be on the lines of earlier expectations. At the last He acquiesces in the mysterious plan of God. Hope becomes utter resignation; thus in the Garden of Gethsemane: "Abba Father, all things are possible unto thee; remove this cup from me: howbeit not what I will, but what Thou wilt."¹

How does the case stand? If by general admission the resolve to go up to Jerusalem is historical, there is sharp disagreement as to the motives and the object in view. It is pointedly asked: "did the historic Jesus foresee His death? Did He go to seinen eigenen Selbstdarstellungstrieb entsprechen" (H. J. Holtzmann, *Messian. Bewusstsein*, p. 54).

¹ Mk. xiv. 36. According to Bousset (*Jesus*, p. 15) the scene depicted by Mk. "shows that to the last Jesus had admitted a possibility that the doom of death would not be His." There is no room for the Gethsemane scene in the conceptions of the Fourth Evangelist, his Christ "decrees His own fate" (Jülicher, *Einl.*, p. 358).

Jerusalem to conquer or to die?"¹ The general impression conveyed, we are told, is "that He journeyed thither, not in order to die, but to fight and conquer, and that in looking forward to the conflict His own death presented itself not as a certainty, but at the most as a possibility, much as in the case of a general on the eve of a decisive battle, or of Luther on the way to Worms."² And again: "not, in any case, to suffer and to die . . . but rather to act. . . . He will seek out and grapple with the foe at headquarters . . . alive to possible catastrophe He looks the contingency resolutely in the face."³ As decided are the opposite opinions. He, Jesus, Himself the Bridegroom of His own great figure (Mk. ii. 20), so tells of the violent removal of the Bridegroom as to make it clear that already, at the outset of His Ministry, His thought is of suffering in store for Him, of a violent death.⁴ The machinations of His enemies, very soon noted by Him, familiarize Him ever more and more with the thought of His impending fate.⁵ He has done what He can in Galilee; Judaea and Jerusalem remain; when His steps are turned southward it is for a journey regarded by Him as a veritable progress of death.⁶

Why all this conflict of opinion in face of the thrice-repeated announcement of the Passion by

¹ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. xciii.

² Pfeiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 34 f.

³ Heitmüller, in *R.G.G.*, iii. 387; Meyer, *Was uns Jesus heute ist*, p. 22.

⁴ Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 122; Salmond, *S. Mark (Century Bible)*, p. 144. Otherwise Blakiston, *John Bapt. and his relation to Jesus*, p. 34.

⁵ Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁶ von Soden, *Wichtigsten Fragen*, p. 69.

Jesus Himself? Thus Mk. viii. 31: "He began to teach them that the Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders, and the chief priests, and the scribes, and be killed." For a second prediction we turn to Mk. ix. 31: "The Son of Man is delivered into the hands of men, and they shall kill Him." The third prediction occurs Mk. x. 33 f.: "Behold we go up to Jerusalem; and the Son of Man shall be delivered unto the chief priests and unto the scribes, and they shall condemn Him to death, and shall deliver Him unto the Gentiles: And they shall mock Him, and shall scourge Him, and shall spit upon Him, and shall kill Him." The predictions, far from ending here, go on to tell of what shall happen "after He is killed." "After three days," "on the third day," "He shall rise again."

It must be conceded that there is something curious in the manner of the representation. Each prediction is, apparently, independent of the others: it is certainly strange that, on the second and third occasions, Jesus appears to speak as if the subject had never been alluded to by Him before.¹ And again, the exactly detailed descriptions of the Passion are suspicious, nor is it an unreasonable conjecture that they owe something to the amplifications of a later period.² But there is insufficient ground for rejecting the predictions in their entirety as "prophecies after the event," as born of Christian dogmatic

¹ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 255.

² Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 150. But cf. Barth (*op. cit.*, p. 195), who writes "Es brauchte kein Hellsehen, um diese Einzelheiten vorherzusagen; das Los eines Gefangenen, der in die Hände der römischen Soldateska fiel war . . . bekannt genug."

on the title Son of Man. *Ipsissima verba* they are not; they nevertheless belong to the best attested sections of the Gospel narrative, and demand acceptance as substantially genuine utterances of Jesus. They are surely decisive on the main point: "Unless our Gospels embody a wholly distorted tradition, Jesus expected to die a violent death at the hand of the rulers of Jerusalem."¹

Accordingly we set down a first conclusion;—The Son of Man, in the mind of Jesus, is destined to suffering and to death. But the death, if conceived of as a "divine necessity,"² is not to be the end. There is something beyond.

Predictions of glorification. The Son of Man, it has been already noted, is to "rise." To turn now to the tremendous words said to have come from Jesus in reply to the High Priest's question: "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed? And Jesus said, I am: and ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of heaven" (Mk. xiv. 61 f.).

Is this a substantially genuine Saying of the historic Jesus? No such utterance is reported of the Johannine Christ; but it does not at all follow that the Saying is therefore destitute of historic basis. If there be force in the remark that "we shall never be able to tell or decide with any certainty what took place in the High Priest's house or before Pilate,"³ it would yet be rash indeed to conclude that the pre-

¹Burkitt, *Earliest Sources*, p. 70. To the same effect Weidel (*Jesus Persönlichkeit*, p. 22).

²J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 103.

³Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 345.

diction was afterwards concocted, and from vague reports.¹ Like other Sayings to the same effect² it is occasion of present real difficulty: hence a readiness to eliminate it (and the others with it); the two verses are indeed ruled out as the interpolation³ of a later period. It is hard to assent. Of its substantial genuineness there can surely be no question whatsoever, for it affords the explanation why Jesus was handed over to the Roman power.⁴ Strangely, no doubt, does it sound to modern ears; that it nevertheless came from Jesus the evidence constrains us to believe.⁵

The substantial genuineness of the prediction being, then, admitted, what conclusions are suggested by it?

It is, assuredly, suggestive of glorification. The scene, it should be observed, is no longer laid on this earth. But while He who speaks is on this earth, the Son of Man of His allusion is pictured as seated at the right hand of God,⁶ and thence coming with the clouds of heaven. So, then, if Jesus really means Himself, He confidently expects that transference from earth to heaven which is an essential preliminary to His descent from heaven to earth. The sequel to

¹ On the assumption that he was an eye-witness, a report of the transactions would readily be obtained from—not to say volunteered by—Joseph of Arimathaea.

² Cf. Mt. x. 23, xxv. 31; Mk. viii. 38-ix. 1, xiii. 26.

³ Wellhausen, *Evan. Marci*, pp. 131 f.

⁴ P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 175.

⁵ Kautzsch, *Das sogenn. Apos. Glaubensbekenntnis*, p. 102; cf. Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁶ "At the right hand of the power;" ἡ δύναμις really stands for God. So Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 200 ff.

the predicted death is to be His exaltation. If then and there seen in lowly form, He will yet be, as The Son of Man, in royal state, the risen and ascended Jesus. According to Lk. xxii. 69, He goes "straight from His death to His glory."¹

Such, it would appear, are the conceptions which stir in the mind of Jesus as, in the Saying reported by Mark, He makes reply to the High Priest's question.

But the verse cited from Luke once more raises question as to whether that Saying be faithfully reported by Mark. There is something curious in its wording; two distinct scenes are referred to, and in each case Jesus is to be seen by those who at the moment see only the prisoner at the bar. In the one case their gaze is to penetrate to the very seat of God Himself; in the other they are to see the Son of Man—*i.e.* Jesus—coming with the clouds of heaven. Were He really so to come, then indeed His coming would be plainly visible; it is the former contingency that occasions doubt. The Marcan report is accordingly viewed with suspicion in the form in which we have it; the greater originality is attached to that Lucan version which says no word of an external coming which the members of the Jewish Sanhedrin are to see with their bodily eyes. What actually came from Jesus was, then, solely expressive of confidence that He should be exalted: "But from henceforth shall The Son of Man be seated at the right hand of the power of God."²

What shall be said of the suggestion? It, per-

¹ Adeney, *St. Luke (Century Bible)*, p. 376.

² See Sharman, *Teaching of Jesus about the Future*, pp. 83 ff.

haps, occurs to us that if Jesus can be regarded as thus far confident—confident of such exaltation—there is no sufficient reason for refusing to see Him equally confident that whither He is to be exalted from thence is He to come. The conviction remains unshaken that words were actually spoken by Him which, faithfully reported in substance in the Marcan version, told of a coming of the Son of Man which the men who heard Jesus speak should actually behold.

Two points, however, demand notice. That the coming conceived of is conceived of as a speedy coming is obvious, and need not detain us. As regards the purpose of the coming, it will be discussed later on, and we simply remark here that on this point the Saying under consideration is altogether silent. The first point is this, that even at the supreme moment Jesus does not expressly identify Himself with the majestic personage of His allusion. Secondly, the question—it will come up again—is not, to all appearance, of a return; an inference might be that the glorious figure who should come with the clouds had not hitherto been seen by eye of man.

Again to sum up in few words.

On the whole it appears certain that the designation the Son of Man was actually, if on rare occasions, employed by the historic Jesus. The conclusion is, perhaps, well founded that, occurring in a Messianic connection, it was, albeit in a way which falls short of directness and scarcely from the first, associated by Him with Himself. As for the conceptions read by Him into the designation, the contexts in which it

stands are significant. A twofold idea is conveyed ; on the one hand the idea of humility and suffering, on the other hand the idea of majesty. Yet it might be permissible to say that the designation is not so much suggestive of present lowliness as of future glory.¹ The conjecture that, whatever else He may be, He, Jesus, is not yet the Son of Man of His allusion to the full,² is, accordingly, not by any means far-fetched.

4. Son of God. A fourth designation meets us which, if claimed or implied in the case of Jesus, is suggestive of divine Sonship. Let us discuss it here.

Inquiry might start with "the writer of the Christmas gospel."³ Like the First Evangelist, Luke prefaces his narrative with an introduction which, of rare poetic beauty, tells of the Nativity and the Holy Childhood. The boy Jesus is pictured in the Temple School at Jerusalem ; the parents come upon the scene ; the chiding words are heard from Mary : "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us ? behold, thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing" ; there follows the reply : "how is it that ye sought me ? Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house ?"⁴ On the assumption that the narrative is historical, the recorded Saying might well be decisive for the conclusion that, already conscious of His divine Sonship, He says in effect : "I am the Son of God."⁵

¹ Feine, *op. cit.* p. 28.

² J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 175.

³ Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 1.

⁴ Lk. ii. 48 f., ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου, *lit.* "in the things of my Father."

⁵ Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 30 ; Barth, *op. cit.*, pp. 259 ff.

But are we here on safe ground? It goes against the grain, perhaps, to regard the opening chapters of Luke (and of Matthew) as "pure legend," the stories therein contained as merely "the glittering halo which the poetic faith of the first community set upon the head of Jesus." Whatever their historic basis, the fact remains that the earliest Gospel knows nothing of the events they profess to relate, while the Fourth Evangelist is, perhaps significantly, silent.¹ Our real acquaintance with Jesus, it is not untruly said, begins "when he has attained the prime of manhood, at the age of thirty, and is entering upon his career of public activity."²

With the story of the Temptation the ground becomes firm. Briefly reported in the Marcan Gospel (Mk. i. 12 f.)—knowledge of details on the part of readers is perhaps assumed by the Evangelist³—it is told at length by the later Synoptists (Mt. iv. 1 ff. = Lk. iv. 1 ff.). They are alike dependent on Q for a narrative traceable, in all likelihood, to what Jesus Himself had told to His disciples.⁴

We remark the dialogue. Twice does the tempter address Jesus with the words: "If thou art the Son

¹ O. Holtzmann, *Das Johannesevangelium*, p. 47. On the significance of Jn. viii. 41, see Bauer, *H.B.N.T.*, II. ii. p. 92. But cf. Zahn, *Einl.*, ii. pp. 504 f.

² Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 5.

³ *S.N.T.*, i. p. 75.

⁴ Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 254; von Soden (*Wichtigsten Fragen*, p. 74) remarks: "Die Erzählung stammt von Jesus selbst," and in *Gosp. Hebs.* Jesus Himself is the speaker. If so, Jesus told in figure of what had been an inward spiritual struggle. An altogether admirable canvas representation of the Temptation, by Mr. W. Dyce, R.A., is reproduced as frontispiece to Sanday's *Life of Christ in Modern Research*.

of God ;" the temptations being diverse, so are the replies of Jesus ;—"man shall not live by bread alone"; "thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." Of what are the replies equally significant? Of a designation tacitly accepted? or does Jesus rank Himself with His brother-men? But the words of the tempter are themselves significant—deeply significant if the assumption be warranted that the narrative is ultimately derived from Jesus. The "if thou art the Son of God" would suggest, not indeed a claim advanced, but a conviction which had already taken deep root in the inmost soul of Jesus.

If so, when?—where?—how?

At His baptism? It is related by all three Synop-
tists (Mk. i. 9 ff. = Mt. iii. 13 ff. = Lk. iii. 21 f.). They agree in bringing Jesus to be baptized by John in Jordan; then the later Evangelists amplify; Matthew, for dogmatic reasons,¹ tells of the Baptist's hesitation, Luke materializes. All three relate that a voice is heard from heaven; they differ in respect of the reported words,² as to who precisely is addressed. In the one case (Mt.) we hear of a solemn proclamation; with the two other Evangelists (Mk., Lk.) the case is

¹ "Matthäus . . . empfindet es . . . als Schwierigkeit, dass er sich der Taufe *eis ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* unterzieht." Wellhausen, *Einl.*, p. 60. The Fourth Evangelist, omitting all reference to the Temptation, avoids mention of the Baptism, and perhaps for this reason, that it might be appealed to as an argument for the inferiority of Jesus to the Baptist.

² Mt. iii. 17: "This is my beloved Son (my Son, the beloved) in whom I am well pleased"; Mk. i. 11=Lk. iii. 22: "Thou art my beloved Son, in Thee I am well pleased." "There is a reading for Lk. iii. 22 which is supported by D., Justin, Clem. Alex.: *υἱός μου εἰ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*" (Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 276; cf. Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 274).

different ; the divine voice, addressed to Jesus alone,¹ is not heard by others.² The presumption being that the greater originality attaches to the Mk. version,³ some inward spiritual experience on the part of Jesus of which Jesus may Himself have told is at once suggested.

That inward spiritual experience, to what did it amount?

The answer is not far to seek. We are surely made to think of Jesus as then and there profoundly conscious of His divine Sonship. He knows, He is made to feel, it is impressed on Him, that there is a relationship between Himself and God which is unique in kind. As for the origin of that unique relationship, there is diversity of opinion.⁴

To return to the Temptation. If it be safe to

¹ Holtzmann, *H.C.N.T.*, i. p. 114 : "die nur er vernimmt."

² But cf. Wrede, *Messiasgeheimnis*, p. 72 : "Markus hat nicht den geringsten Zweifel gelassen, dass er sich den Vorgang genau so objektiv denkt wie irgend ein anderer Evangelist."

³ Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁴ It should be noted that several streams of tradition were current in the Primitive Church. According to one of them, the divine Sonship of Jesus is accounted for by the story of the supernatural birth ; thus in the reported angelic words to Mary : "wherefore also that which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God" (Lk. i. 35). Another, and an earlier, points to the moment of the Baptism ; then it was that Jesus was, by a voice from heaven, designated, called to be, the Son of God. Cf. Acts xiii. 33. See on the whole question (as distinct from that of the Messiahship) *S.N.T.*, i. pp. 72 ff. ; Feine, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff. ; Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 116. Barth (*op. cit.*, p. 295) says emphatically : "Sohn Gottes ist er von jeher gewesen." "It was revealed to Jesus," writes Scott (*op. cit.*, p. 159), "in a moment of ecstatic vision that He stood in a unique relation to God." On the other hand Montefiore (*op. cit.*, i. p. 47) : "according to Mark, Jesus *became* the Son of God at His Baptism."

assume that the words of Satan refer to the divine voice at the Baptism,¹ the "if thou art" of the tempter is surely equivalent to a "thou believest thyself to be,"—the tempter, that is, is pictured as addressing one already strong in the conviction of an intimate and special relationship between Himself and God. What if we pass on to the story of the Transfiguration (Mk. ix. 2 ff. = Mt. xvii. 1 ff. = Lk. ix. 28 ff.) with its connecting links with the story of the Baptism, to which, again the story of the Temptation apparently refers?—Once more a divine voice is heard from heaven, this time in the sense of a proclamation. Yet it cannot be denied that the "utterance at the Baptism has exercised an influence on that recorded at the Transfiguration,"² and we are not on entirely safe ground with a narrative which, it may be, represents a later stage of Christological development.³ A possibility must be reckoned with that in it the early Church has projected the glory of its risen and ascended Lord back into the earthly life of Jesus.

For similar reasons stress cannot be laid on certain other sections which shall now be instanced. Thus, to begin with, Mk. iii. 11 ff., v. 8 (Mt. viii. 29 = Lk. viii. 28): "thou art the Son of God"; "what have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the Most High God";—if, in the latter case, no positive disclaimer is heard from Jesus, in the former the imperative command to silence: "he charged them (the demons) much that they should not make him known,"

¹ Cf. Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 275.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 279 f.

³ Loisy, *Évan. Syn.*, ii. pp. 29 ff.

might be conclusive for a designation tacitly accepted. The historicity of the narratives is, however, questioned; while two more passages—otherwise suggestive—are of doubtful genuineness. The first (Mt. xvi. 16 f.) records Peter's confession and the reply of Jesus: "thou art... the Son of the living God"; "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven";—but this (cf. Mk. viii. 29 f.) is conceivably the later amplification of a day when special prominence had come to be attached to "the prince of the Apostles." As for the second—which relates to the stilling of the storm—it is there said (Mt. xiv. 33): "they that were in the boat worshipped Him, saying, of a truth thou art the Son of God." Not so Mk. vi. 51: "they were sore amazed in themselves; for they understood not... but their heart was hardened." The disciples, then, did not express themselves after the manner reported by the First Evangelist.¹

We arrive next at the famous section, Mt. xi. 25 f. = Lk. x. 21 f.² It undoubtedly stood in Q. It is placed by the Evangelists in different connections; otherwise they are practically in verbal agreement in regard to words which Luke—no doubt rightly—conceives of as uttered by Jesus as "He turns in a kind of sacred ecstasy from earth to heaven."³

¹ Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 274.

² The "Johannine" section, so called from its remarkable resemblance in style and diction to the Fourth Gospel. Cf. Jn. x. 15, 38, xiv. 6.

³ J. A. Robinson, *Study of the Gospels*, p. 105; *S.N.T.*, i. 320. Barth (*op. cit.*, p. 265), criticizing O. Holtzmann's *Was Jesus Ekstatischer?* speaks of "das Hervorleuchten des beständigen Selbstbewusstseins Jesu."

The great Saying runs thus: "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes: yea, Father for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight. All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth who the Son is save the Father; and who the Father is, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him."¹

The genuineness of this Saying does not pass unquestioned. It is held to be "a Christological hymn which betrays its ecclesiastical origin even in its artistic metrical form";² doubt is raised whether, in its second portion, it be the accurate translation of some triumph-shout which actually came from Jesus. That He really uttered such words, it is said, "seems hard to believe."³ Their very similarity to Sayings met with in the Fourth Gospel⁴ might simply establish it that, as there so here, they must be traced to a later origin in some reflective mind. Weighty considerations notwithstanding they refuse dismissal as the artificial construction of a later age. They are stamped with the authority of one of the two primary sources for the Life of Jesus.⁵ The conclusion is not too bold, that in substance they actually came from Him; not necessarily in the exact form in which they now stand.⁶

¹ The citation is from Lk. For an interesting note by Burkitt on the significance of the clause *πάντα μοι παρεδόθη*, see *J.T.S.*, xii. pp. 296 f.

² Pfeleiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 470 ff. But cf. Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

³ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 605, xciv.

⁴ E.g. Jn. xiii. 3.

⁵ Harnack, *Sprüche und Reden*, pp. 188 ff.; Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

⁶ Heitmüller, in *R.G.G.*, iii. 374 f.

On such an assumption the saying indicates a consciousness on the part of Jesus of a divine Sonship which (as some would agree, not all), is unique of kind.¹

A similar impression is conveyed by the Lord's Prayer (Mt. vi. 9 ff. = Lk. xi. 2 ff.); which, placed by the Evangelists in different connections and transmitted in two versions, may, notwithstanding arguments to the contrary,² be referred in the main to Jesus. Does the manner of the address—"Our Father," "Father"—warrant an assertion that Jesus absolutely identifies Himself with those who pray?—well, the context must be taken into account; it is then evident that, placing the words in the mouth of His disciples, He does not necessarily pray with them in exactly the same terms. And further, He appears elsewhere to draw a sharp distinction; in the "your heavenly Father" of Mt. vi. 14, He evidently separates the disciples from Himself. And again, the "your Father" of His address to others becomes "My Father" when speaking of Himself. Never does He include Himself in an "Our Father."³

A similar note is, perhaps, struck in the Parable of the Wicked Husbandman (Mk. xii. 1 ff. = Mt. xxi.

¹ Feine (*op. cit.*, p. 47), writes: "Die Gotteserkenntnis Jesu liegt in seinem Wesen als Sohn begründet." Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 283.

² Wellhausen, *Evan. Matth.*, p. 26; *Evan. Luc.*, p. 55; *Einl.*, 67, 72, 87; Montefiore, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 533. But cf. Harnack, *Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, pp. 47 f.; *Dogmengeschichte*, i. pp. 77, 807: "das wesentlich von Jesus selbst stammende und als ein liturgisches Stück verwertete Vater-Unser."

³ Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 280 f., 190; Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Feine, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 45.

33 ff. = Lk. xx. 9 ff.). Again a sharp distinction is drawn; the "servants" on the one hand, on the other "one, a beloved son." If the Parable be, in substance, really traceable to Jesus,¹ He alludes in it to Himself as, in a special sense, related to God.²

Again to pass on—this time to the closing scenes, to a section already instanced (Mk. xiv. 61 = Mt. xxvi. 63 = Lk. xxii. 70). A question is put by the high priest; that "the particular form of the question shaped itself freely" is plain from the varying reports, and it being once more urged that "what took place in the pontifical residence to which Jesus had been carried was probably as little known to His disciples as it is to us,"³ we hesitate to build too freely on a variously-reported reply to an uncertain question. The section, however significant for the Messiahship and for the designation the Son of Man, cannot be appealed to with equal confidence for the designation Son of God.

Two more narratives invite attention. In the one case mocking words are said to have been addressed to the dying Jesus: "if thou art the Son of God," "He said, I am the Son of God" (Mt. xxvii. 40, 43). But doubt attaches to the report, and, waiving appeal to it, we pass on to the Centurion at the Cross. The reports vary as to what he said (Mk. xv. 39 = Mt. xxvii. 54 = Lk. xxiii. 47): "truly this man was

¹ But cf. Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden*, ii. p. 406: "Das Urchristentum, nicht Jesus selber scheint Mc. xii. 1-11 das Wort zu führen." Otherwise Burkitt (*C.B.E.*, p. 205): "In proportion as He Himself was sure that He was the Heir, so He was prepared for the rulers of Jerusalem to say 'Come, let us kill Him and the inheritance shall be ours.'"

² Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

³ *F.B.*, iv. 4700 f.

the Son of God";¹ "certainly this was a righteous man." The former reading might be preferred; if so, the words may be interpreted as "the natural expression of a Roman's recognition of more than human greatness in the sufferer, 'this man was divine.'"² They do not prove the point.

Again to sum up.

It must be admitted that "Jesus never applied to Himself the title 'Son of God.'"³ Nowhere is the express assertion met with in the Synoptic representation:⁴ "I am the Son of God." The nearest approach to it is in the story of the Trial; where, however, the ground is not firm.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that, conscious of divine Sonship, Jesus implicitly allows the designation by what He implicitly affirms. For a conclusion to this effect the stories of the Baptism and the Temptation are significant; equally so, on the assumption of its substantial genuineness, the so-called Johannine section; equally so, again, the marked distinction drawn in the "My Father" and the "Your Father" which has been noted in connection with the Lord's Prayer. Appeal to all else may be rejected;

¹ Literally, "a son of God."

² J. A. Robinson, *Study of the Gospels*, p. 59; cf. Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 41: "wohl im Sinne seines heidnischen Götterglaubens, der Evangelist aber entsprechend dem Glauben seiner Zeit als wirkliche, metaphysische Gottessohnschaft."

³ Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 280; *Encycl. Bibl.*, iv. 4701; Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, "Er will von der Anrede . . . 'Sohn Gottes' nichts wissen" (this in 3rd ed., not in 6th); Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 275: "it appears that Jesus was not called 'the Son of God' by any contemporary." Heitmüller, in *R.G.G.*, iii. 378 f.

⁴ The case is altogether different in the Fourth Gospel.

there is surely proof that Jesus "made it indubitably clear that He was not merely 'a' but 'the' Son of God"¹—in a sense involving some unique relationship between Himself and God.

At this stage we revert to the main question: what of the rôle of Jesus Himself—as conceived of by Him—in the drama of The Last Things?

And we bring with us some general conclusions. That Jesus is, or believes Himself to be, or allows Himself to be regarded as, the Messiah (at a period and in a sense as yet undetermined) is indubitable. It is not so clear that he deems Himself, and is, of Davidic lineage; on the precarious assumption that He does, and that He was really so descended, He does not appear to attach any vital importance to the fact. That in what, in any case, is a singular way He identifies or connects Himself, sooner or later, with The Son of Man of His occasional but highly significant allusions is next door to a positive certainty. A conviction, beyond doubt, is persistent with Him that He stands in a filial relation to God which, however accounted for, is unique in degree and is probably unique in kind.² The question then is: What, in the belief of Jesus, are His special functions, the rôle to be played by Him, in the drama of The Last Things?

Another, an exceedingly intricate, question turns on the origin and history of that belief whatever it amounts to. That it has dominated Him all along is conceivable; that, on the other hand, it speaks of development, of earlier anticipations yielding place to new and overpowering convictions as His Ministry

¹ Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 280.

² Cf. Lotze, *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 172.

draws to a close, is not impossible. Practically the same question is stated thus: "*How did Jesus of Nazareth become what He was?*" It is called "insoluble"¹; a mass of literature is concerned with attempts to solve that problem of the Messianic Self-consciousness of Jesus² which, already touched on, again confronts us.

Let us proceed with the inquiry. As has been said before, Jesus, at the time when our real acquaintance with Him begins, is fully persuaded that the Kingdom of God is at hand. It would appear further that He is equally persuaded that the coming of the Kingdom is, in some way or other, associated with Himself. Herald of the Kingdom³ He assuredly is; the manner and the matter of His proclamation are alike suggestive that, whatever else He may be, He feels Himself the chosen ambassador of God. It would be true to add that He is already strong in the consciousness of His divine Sonship.

But what of the Messiahship?

It has been argued that the Messiahship, never claimed by Jesus at all, was projected back by disciples into the earthly life of their crucified Lord. But is this credible? Surely not. It is likely enough that the claim was not openly and expressly made by Him until the last stage of the Ministry, yet the impression is not easy to resist that the Messianic consciousness of Jesus must be referred to an earlier period; as some are inclined to think, to the moment

¹ Burkitt, *Gospel History*, p. 77.

² Wellhausen, *Einkl.*, p. 94: "Man hat über 'das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu' bis zum Überdruß viel geredet und geschrieben."

³ J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 35.

of the Baptism.¹ If so, the Jesus of the Temptation-narratives is grappling with the question : of what sort is His Messiahship to be? But then the point arises whether at the Baptism Jesus be divinely designated as the Messiah or Himself fixes on a title which, all inadequate to His conceptions, has at least this advantage, that (presumably) it is ready to hand? And again ; while some degree of certainty may have come to Jesus, it may still leave Him with a problem which the future alone would solve : is He the Messiah already, or is He the Messiah who is to be? This, at least, is evident : from first to last He is not the Messiah of what, to all appearance, are then current expectations. He apparently refuses to assert Himself as the hoped-for Davidic King.² If He looks forward, quite possibly, to an end of Roman rule,³ His main interests, in no way political, manifestly centre first and foremost in an accomplished reign of God.⁴ His intimate associates are bewildered as He discourses of His impending fate.

The question arises—not for the first time : When is it that a conviction of that impending fate—suffering and death—first takes hold of Him?

Not, so it is suggested, at the outset of the Ministry. His belief was then steadfast that the appeal made

¹ A view which meets us in the earliest Gospel-preaching, cf. Acts x. 37. So von Soden, *Wichtigsten Fragen*, p. 73 ; Barth, *op. cit.*, pp. 244, 295 ; J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, pp. 154, 156. On the other hand Scott (*op. cit.*, p. 159) finds no evidence "that it was the conviction of His Messiahship that broke on Jesus at His Baptism."

² Cf. Burkitt, *Gospel History*, p. 205 : "Jesus Himself never claimed obedience as the heir of David's line."

³ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. pp. lxxx, 280. But cf. Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁴ Cf. J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, pp. 123 f. ; Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 58.

by Him would prove irresistible ; that its effect would be a regenerated nation, a new order formed in the hearts of a genuinely devout people. Disappointment dogs His steps. He is, it may be, persuaded that, where He is there the Kingdom is in actual manifestation, and that if not yet recognized, His recognition will not be long delayed. He perhaps anticipates the disclosure, speedily and by superhuman agency, of what as yet remains a profound secret. In full assurance of divine intervention He goes up to Jerusalem ; then, and not till then, is He acclaimed Messiah,¹ there for the first time does He make public avowal of His claims. But the divine intervention, looked for even in Gethsemane, fails to come. The God in whom He has trusted abandons Him. His bitter cry of despair is heard from the Cross : " My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? " ²

The suggestion, if plausible, is altogether unconvincing. In so far as it points to anticipations gradually transformed there may be some force in it ; for it is not unlikely that, at the outset of His Ministry, Jesus did look forward confidently to a triumphal issue in the full and final establishment of the Kingdom to follow on the public recognition of Himself. Further we cannot go with safety. That disillusionment was reserved for Him till the very last moment is incredible. If transformation there was it surely must be referred to an earlier period ;—whether to

¹ But cf. Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, p. 393 ; " Der Einzug war also keine messianische Ovation."

² Of the so-called " Seven Last Words " this, and this only, appears to be authentic. Yet, according to N. Schmidt (*Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 289) it is an " improbable citation."

be explained or not by events which forced it home to Jesus that His Messiahship would inevitably fail to gain general acceptance.¹ The position is preferably as follows: He goes up to Jerusalem—it is to face, not to say precipitate,² a crisis long foreseen. He is actually there—it is to meet, it may be to invite, His expected fate,³ the death said to have been already conceived of by Him as a “divine necessity.”⁴ In what, then, did the necessity consist? What the exact object, purpose, of the death He knew He must die?

Let the answer run thus: by Jesus His impending death is regarded, eagerly awaited,⁵ as prelude to a majestic sequel. To what, then, does He look forward with eager gaze?

We remark a sharp conflict of opinion. It turns on the actual or the potential Messiahship of Jesus in His earthly life; there are two alternatives, and they alike find strenuous advocates. On the one hand it is contended that, if indeed the Chosen One of God, it remained for the earthly Jesus to be invested to

¹ Barth, (*op. cit.*, pp. 190 f., cf. 68), guided by the Fourth Gospel, connects the decisive moment with the Feeding of the Five Thousand.

² Burkitt, *Earliest Sources*, p. 70.

³ Even if He shrinks from it in the Garden of Gethsemane.

⁴ Barth (*op. cit.*, p. 197) aptly remarks: “Nun war aber dieser Ratschluss des Vaters für Jesus nicht ein blindes Schicksal, welchem er sich lediglich mit stoischer Entsagung zu fügen hatte.”

⁵ Cf. Lk. xii. 50. Scott's elucidation (*op. cit.*, pp. 228 ff.) of this Saying is altogether admirable;—Jesus, cramped and fettered by His limitations, looks forward with passionate eagerness to His baptism of Death as to the great event which will mark the beginning of His true activity. “By death He would be finally invested with the Messianic attributes, and would commence His appointed work of bringing in the Kingdom of God.”

the full with Messianic dignity. Messiah *in posse* He may be, Messiah *in esse* He is not; as yet uncrowned He must go to His death¹ as the condition of His coronation. In other words, He must *become* the Messiah; and Messiah He cannot become until He has passed through the gates of death to heaven, and is exalted to the right hand of God.² On the other hand the complete Messiahship, whether dated from the Baptism or not, is referred unhesitatingly to the earthly life of Jesus. It began, not at His exaltation, but at the very outset of the public Ministry.³ In His life and even unto death Jesus had proved Himself true Messiah, God's Servant; hence it was impossible that He should remain in the grip of death.⁴

Whichever alternative be adopted—and the former of the two weighs down the balance—the fact remains that Jesus expected that His immediate enthronement at the right hand of God⁵ would follow on His death.

But His expectations do not stop short here. On the assumption (if it be a safe assumption) that by the Son of Man He really means Himself—the

¹ "Erst geht es in die Tiefe." Wrede, *Messiasgeheimnis*, p. 177.

² P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, i. p. 121, ii. p. 169. A similar conception obtained in the Primitive Church, cf. Acts ii. 32ff., Rom. i. 4, Phil. ii. 8f. It is not entirely foreign to the Fourth Evangelist (cf. Jn. xii. 16), yet Wrede (*Messiasgeheimnis*, p. 216) rightly says of the Fourth Gospel: "Hier ist Jesus offenbar in seinem geschichtlichen Leben bereits der Messias." And so J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 159.

³ Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁴ Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁵ Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 151. On the significance of Lk. xxiii. 43, see Wellhausen, *Einl.*, p. 94.

earthly Jesus transfigured—He is also confident of His Coming from God's right hand. His enthronement conceived of as immediate, that Coming is likewise placed by Him in the near future: "Ye shall see."¹ It would be a coming in celestial might:² "with the clouds of heaven."

His Coming! Again we remark an ambiguity; the prediction, it appears, is not of a "Second Coming," of a "Coming again," of a "return." A word is met with which, traceable to Jesus or not,³ is rather suggestive of a coming which stands by itself; of the appearing, arrival, presence, of One then seen for the first time; seen for the first time at all events in glorified form as The Son of Man. On this latter supposition only could it be appropriate in the case of Jesus. To speak of a Coming would otherwise not be quite natural; it might be to speak of a Return.⁴

¹ And yet a *Guardian* Reviewer can naïvely allude to "some German critics" as having "lately argued that this hope (viz. of our Lord's speedy return to earth) was derived from Our Lord Himself" (see issue of March 24th, 1911: *Review of the Advent Hope in St. Paul's Epistles*). Sharman (*Teaching of Jesus about the Future*, pp. 353 f.) is able to find Jesus suggesting "in broad outline his conception of a future, slow, gradual development into ultimate largeness and greatness." J. S. Russell (*The Parousia*, pp. 548 f.) is driven to the conclusion that the Coming took place at the Fall of Jerusalem. But, unless the Saying in question be altogether ruled out, Jesus Himself was persuaded that the great day of His coming was, if unknown to Him, in any case close at hand. Cf. Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 153; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. p. 76.

² Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

³ *παρουσία*. On the significance of the term (Mt. xxiv. 3, 37) see Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 155; *S.N.T.*, i. pp. 378 ff.; Holtzmann, *H.C.N.T.*, i. p. 283.

⁴ Wellhausen, *Evan. Matth.*, p. 124. Cf. Streeter, *O.S.S.P.*, p. 211: "The so-called 'Second Coming' would be the first coming as *Christ*."

What, then, happens at that Parousia of the transfigured, glorified Jesus which is to coincide with the End of the World ;¹ which, sudden as the lightning-flash (Mt. xxiv. 27 f. = Lk. xvii. 24, 37), was to take place within the lifetime of some who heard the prediction and be ushered in by signs? . Let us turn to a Saying which assuredly came from Jesus: "Now from the fig-tree learn her parable: when her branch is now tender and putteth forth its leaves, ye know that the summer is nigh; even so ye also, when ye see these things coming to pass, know ye that he is nigh, even at the door" (Mk. xiii. 28 f.).²

Now, to what does the parable refer? Here we glance back at the discourse which precedes it. In its existing form the so-called Synoptic Apocalypse is, no doubt, a mosaic; as has been remarked previously, it is largely compounded from some Jewish, more probably Jewish-Christian, document which had circulated in fly-sheet form. If it be not only possible but highly probable³ that genuine Sayings of Jesus are embedded in it, there is room for the conjecture that the Parable was really preceded by a discourse, no longer recoverable, in which Jesus, predicting the destruction of the Temple, had treated of the Parousia in particular. The "he" (or the "it") of the Parable accordingly refers to the Parousia of the lost discourse. One unmistakably genuine Saying survives—Mk. xiii. 32; are there any other such Sayings which

¹ "Parusie und Weltende fallen zusammen;" *S.N.T.*, i. p. 378.

² Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden*, ii. pp. 7 ff.

³ Cf. von Dobschütz, in *Exp.*, March, 1910, pp. 205 f.; Pfeiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 63; Stanton, *Gospels as Hist. Documents*, ii. p. 115; Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, pp. 17 ff.

may here be questioned? Perhaps Mk. xiii 27 : "and then shall he (the Son of Man) send forth the angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven."

It is not, of course, affirmed that these are *ipsissima verba* of Jesus. They belong very likely to the fly-sheet document which the Evangelist has laid under contribution. Yet an appeal may lie to them ; "the very fact that Mark could give this little apocalypse as a sermon of Jesus . . . proves that the main ideas are not far removed from Jesus' own opinions."¹ If so, the belief of Jesus, in effect, was this : at the Parousia, and by the act of the Son of Man, the elect are to be gathered in.

The elect are to be gathered in. The inference being that others are not to be gathered in, the thought instinctively recurs to the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares (Mt. xiii. 24 f.) : "in the time of the harvest I will say to the reapers, gather up first the tares, and bind them in bundles to burn them ; but gather the wheat into my barn." The explanation of the Parable (vv. 37 ff.) may be assigned to a later period, but in its identification of the householder with The Son of Man it is, no doubt, perfectly correct. In any case the idea of judgment is not far to seek. At the Parousia—Judgment.²

Is it possible to fill in details from the picture of

¹ von Dobschütz, *Exp.*, March, 1910, p. 197.

² But cf. Sharman, *Teaching of Jesus about the Future*, p. 356 : "the notion of a day of judgment, under the forms in which it appears in the Synoptic Gospels, is clearly to be traceable to sources other than Jesus."

the Great Assize which is painted in the First Gospel (Mt. xxv. 31 ff.)?

The section is peculiar to the First Evangelist. It lacks the authority of Mark and Q; hence good ground of hesitation to accept, at all events in its entirety, what is not so much a Parable as a description.¹ With its splendid ending it sounds like a Christian homily and one already, it may be, familiar to the readers of the First Gospel; a homily fashioned, perhaps, on some genuine parable of Jesus. Nearly related as it is to other Sayings² the presumption might be that, actually based on genuine reminiscences, it is not simply a constructed discourse. The conclusion lies near that, while there can be no question of *ipsissima verba*, the great picture really illustrates and reflects the beliefs of Jesus.³ His thought, then, again centres on Judgment at the Parousia. It will take account of "all the nations"; it will involve a Resurrection.⁴ In the mind of Jesus, further, it is connected with the setting up of the Kingdom of God.⁵

Who, then, is the judge? He who so figures in the picture of the Great Assize is The Son of Man; and that Jesus will Himself be judge, is, perhaps, the dominant conception.⁶ But it is not the uniform

¹ Wellhausen, *Evang. Matth.*, p. 134.

² *E.g.* Mk. viii. 38 = Mt. xvi. 27 = Lk. ix. 26.

³ Cf. Allen, *St. Matthew*, pp. 266, 316 f.; Holtzmann, *H.C.N.T.*, i. p. 288; *S.N.T.*, i. 388. Feine (*op. cit.*, p. 157) finds the description throughout in full keeping with other Sayings of Jesus and the spirit of His ethical concepts.

⁴ P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, i. p. 184.

⁵ Cf. Mk. ix. 43 ff. J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 112.

⁶ Mt. vii. 22 f. = Lk. xiii. 25-27. Cf. Jn. v. 22, 27.

conception. Elsewhere God alone appears as judge.¹ Elsewhere, again, God decrees sentence on evidence deposed by Jesus.²

Yet one more question. Who, in the belief of Jesus, is ultimately King? As King He is Himself, no doubt, pictured on the canvas of the Great Assize. The allusion to His Father, the petition: "Thy Kingdom come," are nevertheless significant of the sovereignty of God. The position might be stated thus: If He, Jesus, reigns, it is as God's viceroy; as King of a Kingdom which owns the supremacy of God.³

Thus much as to the rôle of Jesus Himself in the great drama of The Last Things as conceived of by Him.

At this stage we halt. The detailed survey of the Eschatology of Jesus has been carried far enough. It remains for us to sum up; and in so doing we retrace our steps rapidly over the ground traversed in the preceding pages. What, shortly stated, are the beliefs and conceptions of Jesus relative to The Last Things?

The Eschatology of Jesus in its main features.

1. With Jesus there are two ages. Sharply does He distinguish between them; the present age, the coming age. The distinction goes further; the present age is an evil age, under the control of

¹ Mt. vi. 4, 6, 14 f., 18.

² Mt. x. 32 f. = Lk. xii. 8 f.

³ "Er ist König im Reiche Gottes." Barth., *op. cit.*, p. 257. According to Mk. xiv. 25, says Wellhausen (*Einkl.*, p. 97) Jesus deems Himself but one among the guests who shall sit at the table of the elect in the Kingdom.

Satan ;¹ as for the coming age, it is conceived of as a good age. What now is under Satan's dominion will then bear witness to the reign of God.²

2. In the belief of Jesus the Kingdom of God would speedily prevail. It lay, that is, still in the future. Now and again alluded to as if actually present, the exceptions, if any,³ prove the rule; never are the disciples told that they need pray no longer: "Thy Kingdom come."⁴ Future—but in the very near future. That the thought of Jesus is of prolonged delay, of an exceedingly remote period,⁵ is, to say the very least, most unlikely.⁶

3. According to Jesus the Kingdom which, expecting in the near future, He proclaimed and heralded, was to be brought in by God. While human efforts might do much to hasten it, it would nevertheless come in the Father's good pleasure; not as the product of social evolution, but as the gift of God.⁷ Its coming, albeit sudden, would be presaged and ushered in by signs and portents;⁸ an Elijah of

¹ Shailer Matthews, *Messianic Hope*, p. 72.

² Cf. Barth., *op. cit.*, p. 71.

³ Shailer Matthews (*op. cit.*, p. 70) finds that some of the Sayings instanced do not necessarily argue a present Kingdom. Cf. J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 95.

⁴ Lk. xxii. 28f. is also highly significant of a Kingdom not yet come. *Schriften des N. T.*, i. p. 512; J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 96.

⁵ So Sharman, *Teaching of Jesus about the Future*, p. 354.

⁶ Few modern scholars will deny that Jesus was absolutely convinced that the great day when all would be changed was to come in the lifetime of what, for Him, was "this generation." Cf. von Dobschütz, *Report O.C.H.R.*, p. 313.

⁷ Shailer Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁸ On the assumption that the Synoptic Apocalypse reflects opinions expressed by Jesus, He certainly expected that startling phenomena, convulsions of nature, a great tribulation, would precede the End.

current expectation had, indeed, come already in the person, not, as some supposed, of Jesus, but of John the Baptist. The exact When of its coming was, however, God's secret.

4. Man must fit himself for the Kingdom. On that point Jesus is imperative. The conditions exacted by Him are stern and far-reaching. His demands are terrific in their matter of life or death vehemence, and pitched so high as to necessitate the straining of every faculty, the bracing of the whole man, complete detachment from essentially earthly interests, a break with domestic ties. Insisting on the ethical nature of the new citizenship¹ He makes everything depend on the right attitude of mind, on a purity of heart and life. The Kingdom, as conceived of by Him, is reserved for those who, devoid of self-consciousness as the little child, are striving with sincerity of motive to do the will of God.² He can conceive of them as few in number;³ at the same time He strikes a note of exclusiveness which overleaps distinctions of race.

¹ Shailer Matthews, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

² Cf. P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, i., p. 127; J. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

³ Those, that is, who reach the standard required by Him. On this point it may be remarked here that of the demands made by Jesus, some are alone intelligible from the point of view that, the End being so close at hand, earthly things were of little value. The admission is not, however, tantamount to the acceptance of the theory of an "Interimsethik"—a special system of ethics intended by Jesus to serve simply for the few weeks or months which might elapse before the end. The background of His ethical teaching was, no doubt, largely eschatological in its nature, but it was not so invariably, and much of that teaching was unquestionably "applicable to, and was even intended for, ordinary conditions of existence" (Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. xcvi).

5. The Kingdom, as conceived of by Him, was to come down from above. His thought, generally, is of this earth—not indeed of this earth as it now is but of a transfigured earth—as destined scene of the new social order.¹ What will then be indeed the Holy Land is accorded the pre-eminence; Jerusalem, at length a Holy City in reality, appears as focal point and centre of a world-wide divine rule.

6. Jesus anticipates a Judgment. On “that day,” the Judgment day, membership in the Kingdom will be determined by a process of selection and rejection which, in that it takes account not only of the living but of the dead, involves a Resurrection. Whether the Resurrection expected by Jesus is to be of the righteous only² or of all men is not easy to decide.³ No precise and detailed statements come from Him as to the nature of the resurrection-body and the resurrection-life. He nevertheless points emphatically to what is in store for the righteous and for the wicked. For the former everlasting blessedness; for the latter not simply exclusion from the Kingdom, but an awful fate.

7. In the thought of Jesus He is Himself peculiarly

¹ A similar conception occurs 1 Thess. iv. 15 ff. If living saints and risen “dead in Christ” are to “meet the Lord in the air” it is to swell His train and to return, to be for ever with Him on a transfigured earth. Thus Paul, who (as has been said already) appeals to some revelation conceived of as received from Jesus. There is, however, nothing in the Gospels which exactly corresponds to Paul’s statement. Cf. von Dobschütz, *Thessalonicher-Briefe*, pp. 193 f.; *S.N.T.*, ii. p. 16; Adeney, *Thess. (Cent. Bible)*, p. 198.

² Sharman, *Teaching of Jesus about the Future*, p. 357.

³ The latter contingency is more likely, while there is no evidence that Jesus distinguished between a first and second Resurrection. J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 110.

related to the Kingdom. Very conspicuous indeed is His rôle in the drama of The Last Things. He figures, in the first instance, as herald; as the prophet who, proclaiming with supreme confidence that the Kingdom of current expectation is actually at hand, demands repentance.¹ The feeling grows on Him that He is something more, and by degrees He identifies Himself with the Kingdom which He has proclaimed and heralded. If it be still future He Himself belongs to it already; where He is there the Kingdom is in partial manifestation.² Profound is His consciousness of a unique relationship to God: it inspires Him with absolute trust, it is motive force and guide as He yields Himself to the divine will. He adopts, not instantaneously but after anxious and prolonged reflection, what is evidently an ancient and familiar title. He reads His own slowly formed conceptions into it; in part they coincide with, in part they at once fall short of and transcend, then current Messianic expectations. It is not impossible that He associates Himself with hopes which centred on a Davidic King; if so it is with high ideas of Kingship. By preference He thinks of a Messiahship which towards the last is openly affirmed in terms of a designation which—just because largely significant of a glory yet to be revealed or not yet gained—has not in the first instance been applied without hesitation directly to Himself. Throughout conscious of limitations, He, destined Messiah that He is, eagerly

¹Cf. *O.S.S.P.*, p. 211.

²Gelderblom (*Vom Himmelreich*, p. 72) is far less restrained: "Da kam es. Ganz still und unauffällig. Da stand es mitten im Volk. In Jesu von Nazareth war es da, das Reich Gottes."

awaits emancipation ; the supreme moment when He shall have passed through the gate of death to be exalted, as the Son of Man, at the right hand of God.¹ That from thence He would shortly come, come in glory with the clouds of heaven, come to this earth, He is absolutely persuaded. At His coming the nations will be summoned to a dread tribunal, where He Himself, it may be, figures as the Judge. No room is made by Him for an interregnum, a period of Messianic rule, of limited duration.² The Kingdom He bade His disciples pray for is to be manifested in all the fulness of perfection. If He reigns it is as viceroy, King and Kingdom owning the supremacy of the God to Whom He is so near akin.

We have done, for the time being, with the Eschatology of Jesus.

¹ It is suggested that the cry from the Cross ("My God, My God, etc.") which, omitted by Lk., and perhaps deliberately expunged by the Fourth Evangelist, Mt., following MK., is constrained to report, may be interpreted as "a final declaration of faith." *Vide* Estlin Carpenter, *The First Three Gospels*, p. 393.

² A conception which occurs 1 Cor. xv. 23 ff. Cf. *S.N.T.*, ii. p. 152.

CHAPTER III.

OLD TESTAMENT ESCHATOLOGY.

ANOTHER stage of our inquiry entered, we now turn from distinctively Christian writings to the "Bible" of the devout Jew of our Lord's day, to that sacred book which Christianity inherited from Judaism. If it was only in the second century of our era that the Canon of the Old Testament was definitely closed, yet in the days of Jesus about the same books were accounted Holy Scripture as are found in our Old Testament,¹ and post-exilic Judaism was, in any case, possessed of a collection of writings which, so it was believed—and the belief was taken over by the Christian Church—were the direct gift to man of the divine spirit. Penned, indeed, by human authors, but at God's dictation.²

Questions of "inspiration," however, need not here detain us.³ In no way concerned at this juncture with our Lord's knowledge and use of the Old Testament Scriptures, it shall be decided at the outset that He Himself shall temporarily recede from view, and that

¹ Cornill, *Intr. to the Canon. Books of O.T.*, pp. 480 ff.

² Holtzmann, *Entstehung des N.T.*, pp. 9 f.

³ On the general subject cf. Wernle, *Einführung in das theol. Studium*, pp. 63 ff.; Niebergall, *Was ist uns heute die Bibel?* pp. 2 ff.

discussion shall be narrowed down to a single issue :—
What Eschatological beliefs and conceptions are met
with in the Old Testament ?

Let us, nevertheless, pause to remark a contrast.

Hitherto inquiry has centred on one person only,
Jesus Himself. In our search for Eschatological
Sayings which may be assigned to Him with some
degree of confidence we have had to do with docu-
ments which, exceedingly meagre in their compass,
extend over a comparatively short period. In the
case of Mark and Q we have records committed to
writing within a generation after His Death ; if we
add on the First, Third and Fourth Gospels we are
still not far removed from the days of Jesus.
Composite works all of them (two, at any rate, of
uncertain authorship) our four Gospels fall within a
period of, it may be, less than fifty years.

How does the case stand with those Old Testament
scriptures which throughout this chapter are to claim
undivided attention ?

Roughly speaking they spread themselves over
more than a thousand years. Exceedingly varied in
regard to style and subject-matter, they illustrate a
wide diversity of view and standpoint—the “ many
men,” and, by consequence, the “ many minds.”
Pointing to different localities they belong, unques-
tionably, to different periods, but in the case of many
of them there is no certainty as to their exact dates.
On the question of authorship we are often in the
dark. The titles prefixed are not invariably to be
relied on ; if the bulk of this or that “ book ” can be
assigned to the personage whose name it bears,
the probability is that sections of it are later additions,

that the "book" as a whole reveals traces of a redactor's hand. Few to-day would uphold the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. If in part it reaches back into a dim antiquity, it contains much that belongs to times when Moses had been dead for centuries; compiled by many hands out of at least four independent written sources, the "comprehensive work, half narrative, half legislative, in character," can scarcely have assumed its present form until somewhere in the fifth century before the Christian era.¹ "Samuel," "Kings," "Chronicles," are likewise composite works. Old-world legends, contemporary annals, have been worked up in them; the later historians or editors have not scrupled to alter and to adapt; their narratives are more or less highly coloured by the circumstances and the conceptions of their own times.² We speak of the "Psalms of David;" in its present form the Psalter—"the hymn, prayer, and religious instruction-book of the community of the Second Temple"—is a collection which did not originate all at once, but by successive stages, nor can its five Books have been edited by the same hand;³ formed gradually out of pre-existing smaller collections it may indeed contain some Psalms of Davidic authorship, but by far the larger number are unadapted to David's situation or character, and indicate the circumstances of a later age;⁴ in the Psalter as a whole—a book which "contains the

¹ Cornill, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 41, 147. See also Chapman, *Intr. to the Pentateuch*.

² *S.A. T.*, i. pp. xi-xviii.

³ Cornill, *op. cit.*, pp. 399 ff.

⁴ Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the O.T.*, pp. 351 ff.; cf. Davison, *The Psalms (Century Bible)*, pp. 23 ff.

whole music of the heart of man, swept by the hand of his Maker"¹—we have in reality the varied aspirations and experiences of many men in many periods of the national life. "Isaiah," again, is not a unity which may be referred to any one man. True that parts of it are recognized as Isaianic—the words of that well-born native of Jerusalem, who began his career of prophetic activity in the death-year of Uzziah King of Judah, but a large remainder must be otherwise accounted for; many chapters are assigned to a "Second Isaiah," a "Great Unknown" who prophesied in the days of the Babylonian Captivity; other sections are of equally uncertain date and authorship. To pass to the "Minor Prophets" is again to realize the necessity of differentiating between original composition and insertion by a later hand. To fix the identity of this or that prophet is frequently a hopeless task; his name may indeed be preserved to us, but, save for a few scanty notices, we know practically nothing of the man himself; of the man, or men, who added to, re-cast, edited, his "book." If his own discourses and predictions can be dated approximately there accordingly remains the difficulty of assigning any certain date to them in their present form.²

As with the Gospels, so—and to a greater extent—with the Old Testament scriptures; they are compilations, composite works. Not only is the authorship of at least two of the Gospels an open question, but exact information as to all the sources

¹ Prothero, *Psalms in Human Life*, p. 1.

² See G. A. Smith, *The Bk. of the Twelve Prophets*; Horton, *The Minor Prophets (Century Bible)*.

—oral and documentary—of which the Evangelists availed themselves is not at our command.¹ Precisely the same thing holds good of the “Bible” of the post-exilic Jewish Church. Thus far the resemblances: as for the contrast, it is not far to seek. A Gospel-literature, on the one hand, which sprang into existence within a comparatively short period, and not so very far removed from the lifetime of Him of whom it treats: on the other hand, an Old Testament literature which, reaching back to the infancy of the human race and coming down, at the very least, to the second century before the Christian era, extends over many ages, and in which the records of the men who figure in the scene, far from being invariably penned by their contemporaries, are often removed from them by many centuries. And again, while the Gospel-literature finds its theme in one great personage whose Sayings it purports to report, in the literature of the Old Testament the voices of many men are heard, and they range over many periods of the old world’s life. We know when and where it was that Jesus spoke—in Sayings which bear the hall-mark of substantial genuineness. The difficulty comes in of assigning definite periods and localities to the many utterances—so diverse in their character—which sound out from the pages of the Old Testament.²

¹ Nicolardot, *Les Procédés de Rédaction des Trois Premiers Évangélistes*, p. 307.

² It is, perhaps, needless to point out that the division of the O.T. Canon into three sections (“Law,” “Prophets,” “Writings”) does not of itself afford evidence of the order of composition of the respective “books.”

The difficulty must, nevertheless, be faced ; and that it is at all possible to surmount it is due to the help which comes with unhesitating acceptance of the generally established results of Old Testament criticism.

Let us determine the lines on which inquiry shall be conducted throughout the present chapter.

But for a sufficient reason the path would be already marked out. Guided by general conclusions as to the Eschatology of Jesus in its main features we might at once proceed to search for the same, or similar, features in the Old Testament. We might ask : What, if anything, is therein said of a Kingdom of God, of Judgment, of Resurrection ? Only then it could hardly fail to happen that, whatever our answers, they would be coloured by impressions hitherto gained as to the beliefs and the conceptions which, so it has appeared, were those of Jesus—and this is the very thing which we must now avoid ; if the present inquiry is to serve the purpose it must be undertaken with entire detachment of the subject-matter and with unbiased minds. Hence, declining guidance from the Eschatology of Jesus, we will take the further step of, for the time being, eliminating the figure of Jesus altogether from consideration, with intent that the Old Testament scriptures may be approached and questioned without bias or prepossession. Where, then, shall be the starting-point, and on what lines shall we proceed ?

Briefly, as follows. His identity revealed in a work, in large part traceable to the very man himself, which goes near to fix his date, we single out a remarkable personage who looms large in the drama

of ancient Hebrew life. His authentic message giving us a lead, it shall be searched for matter¹ in any way significant of our immediate subject; whatever genuine utterances of eschatological import are discovered in it shall be duly weighed. If they appear suggestive of current beliefs, of dependence on predecessors, then, working backwards from the date to which they belong, traces of the same, or similar, beliefs will be sought for in a remote and obscure past. Returning to the day to which the man and his message point, we shall then pursue an onward course through later periods of Jewish history. In so doing we shall lend an attentive ear to some of the many voices which sound out amidst all the varied circumstances of the decline and fall of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah, of the Captivity, of the Return. When the curtain of the Old Testament scriptures¹ has fallen we shall have arrived, for the time being, at our journey's end; and it will remain for us to set down general conclusions as to the Eschatological beliefs and conceptions of post-exilic Judaism.

Now, the man whose message—not to say the man himself—rivets our attention is Amos.² Who he was is related in the book which bears his name; no prophet nor yet a “son of the prophets,”³ a simple countryman, his home the Judæan town of Tekoa,

¹ To the exclusion, it must be noted, of those which, because Apocalyptic in their character, will naturally fall for consideration in the next chapter.

² For fuller discussion of Amos and the Book of Amos see *Artt.* in *E.B.*; Hastings' *D.B.*; *R.G.G.*; Nowack, *Amos und Hosea*; Horton, *The Minor Prophets* (*Century Bible*).

³ Not, *i.e.*, a member of a prophetic guild. Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

but a few miles south of Bethlehem, by calling a shepherd and a "dresser" (lit. "pincher") of small fig-trees, wrongly called "sycamores." His date can be fixed within comparatively narrow limits; by allusions to then reigning monarchs, by the mention of a pestilence referred to in Assyrian records and of an eclipse of the sun which occurred B.C. 763; but for uncertainty as to when the earthquake of an express allusion¹ happened it would be possible to be more exact still. While it can be stated that Amos, a Judahite, sprang from a place already famous for the quick wits of its inhabitants (2 Sam. xiv. 2), it must suffice to say of the period of his activity that it lies in the middle decade of the eighth century B.C. His mission was to Israel—the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes. "Expelled from the Israelitish royal sanctuary at Bethel, with the consciousness that the words of Jahve announced by him were spoken not merely for his immediate hearers but for all time, he wrote down his prophecies in order to preserve them for the future also."² The earliest of the prophets of whose discourses and predictions we possess written records with an accompanying statement of their authorship, he is revealed in them as a man of extraordinary moral seriousness. Deep is his piety. Finding God's hand everywhere in his own and in his people's life, his eye is ever turned from superficialities to great realities. Indomitable is his courage on behalf of apprehended truth. Not that the Book of Amos, in its present form, is throughout the work of Amos himself. The hand of an editor is detected in it, the biographical notices may be due to some unknown

¹Amos i. 1.

²Cornill, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

scribe or scribes, interpolations are self-evident, the conjecture is hard to resist that the section ix. 8-15 is a post-exilic substitute for an original conclusion which, sounding too harshly, was deliberately suppressed.¹ The bulk of the book, however, may be safely referred to Amos; and, perhaps, to his own pen; while there is proof (in the prophecies of Isaiah of Jerusalem) that the written record of Amos must have become quickly known.

What, then, are the more salient points in the authentic message of one who, scarcely rude in knowledge, is vigorous and refined in speech?²

It is unmistakably a gloomy message. Dark scenes are depicted: the outlook is illuminated by no ray of light. The prophet is unsparing with his denunciations; presaging disaster he sees scant ground of hope, loophole of escape there is practically none. Judgment is about to overtake surrounding peoples; more terrible in its decisiveness will be the judgment on Israel itself. The oracle of Jahve speaks: "you only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities" (iii. 2). And again: "prepare to meet thy God, O Israel" (iv. 12). The prophet's thought is of a day, "that day" (ii. 16), a day which will be emphatically "the day of the Lord" (v. 18); how does he conceive of it? Let him answer himself: "shall not the day of the Lord be darkness, and not light? even very

¹Baudissin (*Einleitung in die Bücher des A. T.*, p. 509) allows the possibility that some genuine words of Amos underlie the section. So Budde, *Das prophetische Schrifttum*, p. 9.

²Jerome's verdict: *imperitus sermone, sed non scientiâ*, will not stand.

dark, and no brightness in it" (v. 20). According to Amos it will be a day of merited and irrevocable doom.

We go no further. It is here needless to enter upon a prolonged scrutiny of the message as a whole, to discuss it as a revelation in detail of the features political, social, and religious which characterized the times. The question is: What do we learn as to the beliefs and conceptions of Amos from the gist of his prophetic words? There is no doubt whatsoever that he himself is persuaded of the Sovereignty of God. It has been practically set at nought and rejected: it will nevertheless be speedily manifested in Jehovah's¹ wrath as judgment overwhelms the guilty nations—Israel itself—in utter destruction at the coming of the Day of the Lord. That Day, for Amos, is evidently nigh at hand. No certain word of his own breathes hope for the survival of any one nation or people. Apart from soul-visions of Jehovah, his gaze nowhere penetrates beyond this earth.

Then two things strike us. We become aware, to begin with, of then current beliefs and conceptions. Secondly, while on the one hand Amos appears to share them, on the other hand he sternly rejects them. In agreement to some extent with his contemporaries, he is resolute in parting company from them where he finds them altogether blind to grave issues, misguided, hopelessly in the wrong.

He expects a Day of the LORD; so do others;

¹ For the origin of the comparatively modern word Jehovah—used for convenience' sake instead of the less familiar Jahve—see Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 199.

that there is nothing novel in the conception is apparent from the manner of his allusion (v. 18). In his recognition of Jehovah's sovereignty he is scarcely alone; the phrase just instanced of familiar usage is in itself suggestive; the picture drawn of ritual observances at least testifies to some sort of Jehovah-worship. He is convinced that of "all the families of the earth" one family in particular has been the object of Jehovah's choice (iii. 1, 2); the conclusion lies near that the belief is equally intense with those to whom his message is addressed. The inference is warranted that in some of his threatenings of judgment they have been long prepared to acquiesce, and with a whole heart. Thus far, and thus far only, is Amos at one with his contemporaries. Then the contrast is sharp; their conceptions are of one sort, his of quite another; the note struck by him sounds out as a bold challenge to popular beliefs and practices; felt as such, it not only startles, it occasions fierce resentment (vii. 10 ff.). A people's anticipations centred on a Day of the Lord which should be bright with the fulfilment of long-cherished hopes; Amos tells them plainly that, dark and no brightness in it, its coming will be dread for the very men who desire it.¹ There is no true recognition, says he, of Jehovah's sovereignty in the mere externals of a sensuous devotion; the one thing needful, yet altogether absent, is the righteousness which Jehovah demands. Right indeed are the people in their assertion that them, and them only, has Jehovah "known"; idle their boasting that, His special favourites, He will necessarily ever take their side

¹ Duhm, *Das kommende Reich Gottes*, p. 11 f.

and stand up on their behalf. The great paradox is hurled: "*you* only have I known . . . therefore will I visit upon *you* all your iniquities." The judgment so confidently expected for others will fall, to Israel's dismay, upon Israel itself.

Thus does Amos adopt popular conceptions while he radically alters their content.¹ They are conceptions which, evidently current in his day, must have a history behind them; it may be, a very long history. Is it possible to discover them in germ, to watch their development?

It is to ask a hard thing. A difficulty stares us in the face which for a former generation was practically non-existent; traditional theories being accepted, the road by which to travel would be plainly marked out, the task imposed comparatively light of execution. The obvious course would be to take the Old Testament scriptures in their familiar order, and, raising no question as to chronological sequence, authorship, and historical accuracy, to question them book by book and to tabulate results.

That old and easy road is, however, barred and closed for ever to the modern student. With the knowledge that the books of the Old Testament positively refuse to be questioned on the traditional lines indicated, a new and tortuous path is entered by him; gone are the familiar landmarks; if sign-posts are discovered they are often hard to read. In his methods more precise than his predecessors, he analyses and compares his authorities, he weighs them in the balances of his critical judgment; he differentiates the periods to which they refer from

¹ Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 112 f.

the periods to which they belong, he estimates the value of contemporary and traditional accounts, in his hands chronicles become documents which have to be reduced to their original elements of fact and romance.¹ Inevitably he arrives at new results ; and they often necessitate the abandonment of old positions. To seize on one point only : while a mass of Old Testament literature purports to be the circumstantially accurate, consecutive, contemporaneous narrative which, starting with the account of the creation, moves steadily on to the times of Amos, in reality it is no such thing. Composite in character, it is largely the work, not of men whom tradition has connected with it, but of quite unknown and later personages, of writers whose standpoints are altogether different from those of the periods of which they treat. It can be in contradiction with itself.² It idealizes antiquity in the light of what is time present. Reflecting the circumstances and conditions, the conceptions, the already long accustomed but slowly elaborated legislation and ritual³ of far later epochs, it projects them, unconsciously or deliberately, into the remote and shadowy past of a

¹ Cf. Chase, *C.T.E.*, p. 374.

² Cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1, 1 Chron. xxi. 1. According to 1 Sam. x., xi., the monarchy is a gift of God ; in the very next chapter it is a sacrilegious institution. The two stories of the Creation (Gen. i., ii.) are in contradiction.

³ It might appear from Amos v. 25 that the prophet "did not know the view expressed in the completed Pentateuch, that the sacrificial or Levitical system had been appointed in the wilderness" (Horton, *Minor Prophets*, p. 154). Gressmann (*S.A.T.*, I. ii. p. 348) says : "Er hat wohl das ganze Opferwesen für ein heidnisches Lehngut gehalten, das Israel erst nach der Eroberung Kanaans im Lande selbst erworben hat."

people whose origin and fortunes it labours to explain. Fact and figure, folk-lore, legend, myth, are interwoven in it. In short, it is not what we to-day call history. When at length it places us on tolerably firm ground, the days of Samuel and Moses lie very far behind, David and Solomon have long years been dead, the ninth century B.C. is entered before an age dawns in which Hebrew literature actually started into life. For not till then was it that ancient songs and annals, legislative enactments, reminiscences, sometimes in writing but more often transmitted by word of mouth, were sought out, collected, sorted and arranged, revised and worked over, made to assume such literary form as the age could give.¹

Thus does the case stand. It means a considerable shrinkage of material. Of the Old Testament scriptures much to which we should otherwise turn instinctively has ceased to have a value for the present purpose, and must accordingly be ruled out. Yet something remains; and for the attempt to get behind Amos and his contemporaries we can lay hands on matter which, of assured greater antiquity, challenges, and may reward, investigation.

Let us begin with some generalizations. It was said of the Pentateuch that, a composite work in which, very likely, Moses had practically no hand at all, it is really constructed out of four independent written sources;² and if two of these sources (D

¹ Cf. Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 84 f.

² A Jahvistic work ("J"),—distinguished by the use of the divine name Jahve—which may be dated approximately B.C. 850. An Elohist work ("E")—in which the divine name Elohim is employed—not later

and P) are relatively modern products, material of great antiquity and originality is embedded in them. The same thing holds good of the two which remain; one of them (E) was almost contemporary with Amos, while the other (J) had sprung into existence about a century before his day. Similar in character as compilations, the Books of Samuel and Kings, Joshua and Judges, sometimes specifying their own sources,¹ alike conserve statements, narratives, and allusions which testify to their originality by a sharp contrast with obviously more modern features elsewhere detected in the same document. In the grand Elijah-stories there is a substratum of solid fact. The "glories of Solomon" have been exaggerated, yet life-like is the portrait of an oriental despot who compacts an empire on the corpses of his vanquished foes. Stripped of the hero-stories which clustered round his name, David, if scarcely the "sweet Psalmist" of tradition, is still the historical personage who steals away the hearts of the people, who ascends the throne, who gains a foothold for himself and his lineage at a fortress of hoary antiquity already invested with a halo of legendary romance.² As for

than B.C. 722 and perhaps ca. B.C. 750. Deuteronomy ("D"), in any case subsequent to the Reformation of Josiah, B.C. 621. A Priestly Writing ("P") which, a development of D, arose during the Babylonian Captivity, and may generally be referred to the century B.C. 570-450. See the Analysis offered by Cornill, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff.

¹ Thus 2 Sam. i. 18; where it is said of "the song of the bow" that it stood in the "Book of The Upright."

² In Ps. xxiv. 7-10 we have, perhaps, the whole or a fragment of an ancient hymn with its reference to the hoary gates of the old heathen fortress which, wrested from the Jebusites, was hallowed as the dwelling-place of the great King, Jahve Sabbaoth. Cf. Davison, *The Psalms (Cent. Bible)*, pp. 128 ff.

the giant Benjamite, his predecessor, a later age may have depicted Saul in dark colours, but in reality he was the man needed by the times ; alive to the situation, a real Samuel has marked him out and anointed him in anticipation of a people's choice at a critical moment when they are about to take a decisive step forward in their national development. As for the earlier stages of their history, we are not, indeed, entirely in the dark ; but it becomes ever harder to distinguish between isolated facts and later and poetic amplification. The shadows continually deepen ; and, as the stories met with are more or less highly coloured by a later idealism, the detailed picture fades away, the roughly outlined and imperfect sketch alone remains. A group of Semitic tribes, destined to become Israel, migrate to and settle in Goshen ; after a stay of uncertain duration they are again on the move ; for a while a nomadic people linger in a district south of Palestine ; then, after strange vicissitudes and marvellous experiences often the reverse of credible, they make their entrance into "the promised land."¹ Our real but scanty knowledge of them begins when they are settling, or have settled, in the land of Canaan.

There is, after all, matter available. In richer store than might have been anticipated, it invites to investigation which might easily overrun space. Let it suffice to fix on but two or three sections which may disclose the object of our search.

i. The legendary character of the Elijah-stories notwithstanding, they rest on historic facts. The

¹ Cf. Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, pp. 12 ff. Gressmann's *Mose und seine Zeit* should be read.

great Tishbite is a real historic personage; the scenes and the events in which he figures are not therefore imaginary because of the high colouring they have undoubtedly received. His *ipsissima verba* may be lost, but their substance survives; and it enables us to determine conceptions which, perhaps, he found it a hard thing to formulate. He knows himself to be Jehovah's prophet; jealous, then, for Jehovah's honour he speaks burning words in the ears of a people scarce able to distinguish between Jehovah and him who, for Elijah, is emphatically a foreign god. As such Baal has no concern with Israel, Israel no concern with Baal.¹ Significant is the "Entweder—oder"; Israel owes undivided allegiance to Him who, Israel's God, in His incomparable majesty towers heaven-high above a real but foreign deity. The appeal made (1 Ki. xviii. 36 f.) is suggestive, not of some entirely novel proclamation, but of the startling reminder of a well-nigh forgotten truth. In short: the Elijah-stories tell of a connection between Jehovah and Israel which, of ancient standing, is singularly close.

ii. In 2 Sam. vii. 1-29 David and Nathan the seer figure on the scene. The story, not void of elements of truth, was in the mind of some later chronicler when (1 Chron. xxii.) he told with exuberant fancy of David's vast preparations for the Temple which Solomon was to build. Its opening verses, however, (1-7) need not detain us; the remaining verses (8-29) form a group apart; in the Oracle of Jahve and David's Prayer we have, possibly, a Royal Psalm which, of unknown authorship, may be assigned to a

¹ Gressmann, *S.A.T.*, II. i. p. 259.

date prior to the building of the Temple.¹ Significant are the promises to David and to David's heirs ; his house, his kingdom, and his throne are to endure for ever ; Jahve may visit with the rod, but He will not withdraw His mercy. Not less significant are the promises for a people who, under Davidic rule, are primarily Jehovah's people. They are to dwell in a place of their own which Jehovah has appointed ; they will be disturbed no more ; no longer afflicted by the children of wickedness, they will be secure from all their foes. The Psalmist gives utterance to a supreme conviction ; foreign nations and foreign gods there are, but Jehovah is far above all : " thou art great, O LORD GOD ; for there is none like thee." He exults in a national privilege : " what one nation in the earth is like thy people, even like Israel, whom God went to redeem unto himself for a people?" He insists on a national belief : " thou didst establish to thyself thy people Israel to be a people unto thee for ever, and thou, LORD, becamest their God."

What special points shall be seized on in this Royal Psalm ?

The Davidic Kingdom is, in some sort, Jehovah's Kingdom also. One thing is certain, Jehovah, emphatically Israel's God, is infinitely greater in power and majesty than the gods of other nations. If He " became " Israel's God by Israel's choice it was by His, Jehovah's, choice that Israel was singled out to be object of His peculiar favour and protecting care. His judgments are to fall, but it will be on those who seek Israel's hurt ; Israel's immortality, as a nation, is as sure as that of David's line. An

¹ Gressmann, *op. cit.*, II. i. p. 143.

impression is conveyed that the chords struck by the poet are in unison with hopes widely cherished in his own day.

iii. The so-called Book of the Covenant (Exod. xx. 22—xxiii. 33) is the most primitive collection of sanctions and legislative enactments which is embedded in the Old Testament.¹ The compilation of the basal document is assigned with some show of probability to the reign of Solomon; subsequently elaborated, expanded, and condensed, it stretches back to the settlement in Canaan, and thence—if dimly and indirectly, to Mosaic times;² the statement (Exod. xxiv. 4, 7) which apparently connects Moses with the writing and promulgation of the Book of the Covenant itself is, of course, due to the idealism of a later age. In the main it is a collection of laws which, dealing in great detail with civic life, have, it may be, an already long history.³ It treats, if briefly, of the cultus in its leading features; one passage at the least (Exod. xx. 24) is significant of an early date.⁴ Of special and immediate interest is the section which (Exod. xxiii. 20-33) records the closing promise; a successful conquest of Canaan to be reward for a conscientious observance of divine commands. The gods of other nations are, indeed, real

¹ Possibly the subject of allusion Amos ii. 4; whether by Amos himself or a later interpolation is uncertain. Cf. Gressmann, *op. cit.*, II. i. p. 333.

² Gressmann, *op. cit.*, II. i. p. 223 ff.

³ The Code of Hammurabi, B.C. 2130 (see Hastings' *D.B.*, v. 584 ff.) presents remarkable parallels to the legislation of the Book of the Covenant. Cf. Beer, *Mose und sein Werk*, p. 30.

⁴ When as yet there was no question of one central sanctuary only. Cf. Deut. xii. 13 f.

gods ; but Jehovah, Israel's God, lays claim to Israel's allegiance. There is an emphatic "if" ;—then Jahve will Himself be an enemy to Israel's foes. Israel shall inherit the land. The blessings enjoyed will be rich and manifold ; material prosperity, an end of disease, length of days.

A possibility, if not a probability, must be reckoned with. Substantially, the Book of the Covenant is attributed to the Elohist document ;¹ hence its priority, generally speaking, to the days of Amos, while matter of far greater antiquity is contained in it. The question is : does this particular section really belong to such matter, or must it be referred to a later stratum of an otherwise venerable code ?²

iv. We are on more certain ground when, leaving the Book of the Covenant, we turn to that earliest monument of Hebrew literature which illumines the the political and spiritual condition of the Israel of its day, the Song of Deborah (Jud. v.). Destitute of form and in part unintelligible, it is a matchless and imperishable poem ; sublime in the manner of its depiction of a supreme moment when all hearts were thrilled with the realization of superhuman power. Its triumph-notes proclaim the exultant confidence of a young people as, in a great but scarcely apprehended crisis, they conceive of deity as marching in the van, and hear sounds betokening a divine presence reverberating in their ranks.³

¹ Cornill, *op. cit.*, p. 45, cf. p. 42.

² Exod. xxiii. 29 f., with the hint that the Conquest and settlement was a very gradual process, is suggestive of a very early date. On the other hand vv. 20-24 appear to evidence later conceptions of God as removed from immediate intercourse with mankind.

³ Cf. Wellhausen, *I. J. G.*, pp. 40 f.

Is the heroine herself the poet?¹ In any case the grand *Te Deum* which immortalizes the fame of Deborah "bears in itself the evidence that it is the work of one who had lived through the great struggle which it celebrates,"² and, of inestimable value as a historical monument, it certainly rewards our present search. Jehovah is the God of Israel. The enemies of Israel are His enemies; He has triumphed, and will triumph over them. He and Israel are boldly identified; what the nation hates so does the nation's God. By implication the rally to the call to arms is to go "to the help of the LORD against the mighty"—against His and His people's foe.³

It may be added that, if the actual phrase is absent, the religious colouring of the great poem suggests that, in the eyes of the poet, the day of Barak's victory was, in very truth, a "Day of the Lord."⁴

For the time being we sum up. The search thus far engaged in has been limited in its range. It has terminated at a point when curiosity is stimulated; features are presented by the subject-matter which arouse suspicion of borrowings on the part of ancient Israel; there may be much which strikes its roots in what was common property with other peoples. The utmost that can be said is, that—going back to remote days when once nomadic tribes had started on

¹ Cf. *E.B.*, i. 1048, iii. 3797.

² *E.B.*, i. 1048.

³ If the marginal reading (R.V.) "among" be adopted, Jahve is the warrior God (cf. *Exod.* xv. 3) who heads the charge of His warriors.

⁴ "So äusserte sich Jahve vorzugsweise in den grossen Krisen der Geschichte; seine 'Tage' waren wie die Tage der Araber, Schlacht-tage" (Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 27).

their way to have a separate existence and had entered the world as a nation—we have discovered beliefs and conceptions not dissimilar to those illustrated by the Book of Amos. As we have seen already, the prophet and his contemporaries are often in agreement ; it is precisely where they agree that they are equally inheritors of old convictions. If the discordant and unwelcome note be struck by Amos it ceases to be entirely novel in view of promises already made and qualified by uncompromising prohibition. Alike convinced that Israel is, in a peculiar sense, Jehovah's chosen people, the prophet and his hearers are alike in expectations which centre on Jehovah's Judgments. At one in their anticipations they await Jehovah's "Day"; a day which, not far off, will be fraught with great and final issues. They part company; while the prophet's contemporaries are satisfied that, come what may, they, as a people, are destined by Jehovah to an immortality of good, the prophet thinks otherwise. Whether they agree or differ they point back, now clearly and now dimly, to conceptions met with in literary remains which belong to what for Amos was already ancient history.¹

Once more the days of Amos are starting-point. The road now lies ahead—through later periods of Hebrew life. If there be momentary delay to enter it the reason is this: a not unimportant fact demands

¹ Elijah places us in the middle of the ninth century; a century before the period of Amos' activity. David perhaps attained to power ca. B.C. 1000. In the absence of any certain chronological data for the earlier periods of Hebrew history, it must suffice to say of the Song of Deborah that it is earlier by some centuries than the "Royal Psalm" of 2 Sam. vii. 8 ff.

consideration as we remark that a short-lived undivided monarchy had, several generations earlier, been followed by the setting up of the Northern and the Southern Kingdoms. The "Revolt of the Ten Tribes" is insufficiently accounted for by Rehoboam's ill-advised action; the collapse, if sudden in appearance, was the outcome of long-standing jealousies, the definite assertion of earlier independence. But it may not be supposed that the breach between the kindred peoples was more than political in its nature; in respect to religion there had been practically no breach at all. Amos, himself a Judahite, is still among Jehovah's people when away on his mission to the Northern Kingdom. No hint is dropped that those who officiate at Northern shrines are regarded by his younger contemporary as schismatic priests. A time indeed comes when, as the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes vanishes away, Jerusalem, "the city of the great King," is the one legitimate place for Jehovah's worship; but meanwhile Israel has not necessarily repudiated Jehovah in Israel's rejection of Davidic rule.¹

But to turn to that younger contemporary of Amos who, in all likelihood an inhabitant of the Northern Kingdom, was, according to a probable conjecture, of priestly origin. Hosea had been cast in another mould; sharp is the contrast between the older and the younger prophet; if the former be pre-eminently the man of affairs, the latter is characterized by a singularly reflective mind; in his religious and ethical perception Hosea leaves Amos far behind. Pathetic is the story of his life:—"Weighed down by

¹Cf. Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, pp. 72 f.

heavy domestic misfortune, in which he saw mirrored a picture of grave misfortune affecting all, amid scorn and contumely as well as fierce hostility and persecution, he carried on his work in a troubled anarchical time; of his exact fate nothing is known.”¹ His musings and his message survive in the book which bears his name. It is necessary to make deductions; not seldom there is clear proof of Judæan interpolation and Judæan revision, while the promises of a time of final blessedness—unless it be safe to assign them, in part, to days when the prophet could still build his hopes on the great love of God—are perhaps the additions of a later day. But the authentic remainder is large, and in it Hosea rings out the same note as his immediate predecessor. Israel is Jehovah’s people, Jehovah is Israel’s God. In the stress laid on the exclusiveness of the relationship between Jehovah and Israel the prophet is in advance of his age; the way is paved for the monotheism of an after day by the emphatic declaration: “Yet I am the Lord thy God from the land of Egypt; and thou shalt know (marg. knowest) no God but me, and beside me there is no Saviour” (xiii. 4). If the dominant thought of Amos be of righteousness, with Hosea—not outleaping national limitations—it is that of mutual love; of love which, demanding to be repaid with love, has met with its return in unfaithfulness from the very first, in present national sins only too painfully symbolized by the prophet’s harlot-wife. Like Amos, Hosea is the prophet of divine judgment as recompense for Israel’s harlotries. The

¹ Cornill, *op. cit.*, pp. 320 f. Cf. Nowack, *Amos und Hosea*, pp. 28 ff.; Artt. in *E.B.*, Hastings’ *D.B.*, *R.G.G.*

crisis, however, is no longer in the near future ; it is already there, and the divine judgment is in actual process of accomplishment. What, then, lies beyond ? It may be that, drawn, as ever, by the cords of love a repentant Israel will show itself alive to the real nature of the divine requirements ; if so, there is a door of hope ; in the judgment which overtakes the nation it is after all possible to discern the punitive and purifying love of God ; there are glimpses of another and a brighter dawn. So, it might appear, the prophet of the great love of God argues ; and there may well be hesitation to decide that he whose "inward conception of religion transcends the Old Testament standpoint"¹ can paint no other picture than one dark with inevitable doom. But the brighter prospect seems to fade away. Stern words are spoken which tell, it is not improbable, of abandoned hope. "I will be unto Ephraim as a lion . . . I will carry off, and there shall be none to deliver" (v. 14). Awful is Jehovah's resolve : "Shall I ransom them from the power of the grave ? Shall I redeem them from death ? . . . Repentance (pity) shall be hid from mine eyes" (xiii. 14).²

Whatever a far-off future might have in store for Israel, the nearer outlook was dark, calamity was at the very door. Two short decades elapsed ; then the end came swiftly ; after a three years' siege Samaria capitulated to the Assyrian armies, and the Northern Kingdom fell. As for its people, they were transported out of their own land to a land of

¹ Horton, *Minor Prophets*, p. 14.

² Far from containing a thought of resurrection, the verse can only be explained as a threat of implacable doom. Cf. Nowack, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

strangers.¹ They became the "Lost Tribes"; not, therefore, for ever ceasing to be included in prophetic hopes.²

"There was none left but the tribe of Judah only" (2 Ki. xvii. 18). Guided by this bitter lament of the annalist, we now turn to the Southern Kingdom. The days are now those of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah.³

Isaiah the son of Amos is a real personage.⁴ Beyond doubt he was a citizen of Jerusalem. A married man with children—two of his sons are alluded to by name—he was probably of high social rank. With every educational advantage that the times and the capital could supply, he inherited a literary tradition of no recent date. The prophetic call was received by him in the year of Uzziah's death (B.C. 740); his prophetic activity was at its height during the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah, in particular at a day when (B.C. 701) Sennacherib laid siege to Jerusalem. That he survived into the next reign is probable, but, if legend⁵ sends him to a martyr's death by Manasseh's orders, history knows nothing of the closing scenes. Turning from Isaiah himself to "the Book of the Prophet Isaiah," there is grave uncertainty as to how much, if any, of its contents are Isaiah's authentic words.

¹ 2 Ki. xvii. 1-23. From the intermingling of those allowed to remain with foreign settlers there grew up the mixed people afterwards known as the Samaritans.

² Cf. Ez. xxxvi. 24, Isai. xi. 11.

³ Isai. i. 1.

⁴ Among other authorities see the following: Guthe, *Jesaja*; Budde, *Das Prophetische Schrifttum*; Cornill, *op. cit.*; Artt. in *E.B.*, Hastings' *D.B.*, *R.G.G.*

⁵ Perhaps subject of allusion, Hebr. xi. 37: "sawn asunder."

Chapters xxxvi.-xxxix. are excerpts from the Second Book of the Kings (xviii.-xx.); the section chs. xxiv.-xxvii. stands by itself apart;¹ as for chs. xl.-lxvi., they, like the excerpts just instanced, are later by two centuries than the date of Isaiah's Call. Whatever genuine utterances of the prophet have survived must, accordingly, be sought for in a residuum which even then consists to a large extent of matter of questionable authenticity. But if the passages which can be assigned with safety to Isaiah or his age be comparatively few,² it is nevertheless possible to single out some which, relevant to the subject, are either undisputed or guardedly accepted as Isaianic in origin.

It was remarked above that the literary remains of Amos were known to Isaiah of Jerusalem. Like Amos, like Hosea, he knows that the One who calls him to the prophetic office is the very same God who from ancient times has been Israel's guide and protector (i. 2, x. 24, 27, xxx. 22). Coining a new name for Jehovah (v. 19),³ in his conceptions of deity he soars above the Israel of his day. Sarcastic in his denunciations of their lavish ritual observances (i. 10-15),⁴ he sharply distinguishes between mere emblems of a borrowed Baal-worship and the worship which, implying rectitude of moral conduct, is required by Jehovah of a people who have received blessings manifold at Jehovah's hands.

¹ It will fall for consideration in the next chapter.

² Kennet, *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah*, *passim*.

³ "The Holy One of Israel." In the word rendered "holy" the idea of omnipotence (cf. vi. 3) is prominent.

⁴ Evidently he knows nothing of any elaborate ritual legislation of Mosaic origin.

In speech and song and parable he makes his reiterated appeal; whether it be to men who, highly placed but destitute of high ideals, adopt what is, in his eyes, a misguided policy (vii. 3-16),¹ or to others who, albeit invested with a sacred calling, degrade their office by a gross debasement of themselves (xxviii. 7 ff.). As the hopelessness of his task is borne in upon his soul (vi. 9, 10)² he, not altogether ceasing with his appeals, proclaims with no uncertain voice inevitable judgment. Convinced of Jehovah's intervention, he tells of the coming of a "day of the LORD of Hosts," which, dread in its portents and appalling in its effects (ii. 12-22), is a day not far off. Grasping the political situation, he already hears the clashing and the tramping of the Assyrian soldiery in their impetuous rush (v. 25-30), as aware that the Assyrian world-power is the destined instrument of Jehovah's wrath. The blow, if temporarily averted,³ falls on the Northern Kingdom; then, as sinful Israel passes to its predicted fate, Isaiah's thought is concentrated on his Judaeian home. Singing of a vineyard in a very fruitful hill, he narrows down the application to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the men of Judah (v. 1-7), who, equally guilty, will not escape. A respite⁴ will, indeed, be granted to the harlot city (i. 21). Illusive promise

¹ The sanctimonious reply of Ahaz (vii. 12) suggests that the aid of Assyria had already been invoked.

² The prophet's story of his vision reveals bitterly disappointed hopes, consciousness of failure.

³ It appears that Isaiah expected Israel's fall to coincide with that of the Syrian Kingdom (vii. 16).

⁴ The nucleus of the later and embroidered narrative 2 Ki. xix. is perhaps to be discovered in Isai. xxii. 1 ff.

of security and national rejoicings may account for the proud name given by some mother to her new-born child; troublous, disastrous days are all the same ahead; "Immanuel,"¹ arrived at years of discretion, will dwell amidst scenes of desolation (iii. 1) in "Immanuel's land" (viii. 8). Is it fondly supposed by some that its Temple, the actual dwelling-place of deity, Jerusalem, peculiarly the "holy" city, is therefore inviolable, impregnable?—the false ground of confidence will be rudely shaken by the inevitable event. The Assyrian may beat a strange retreat once,² but he will surely come again. Men will scatter at his victorious progress (xxx. 16, 17), and with the collapse of Judah and the wreck of Jerusalem (iii. 8, cf. i. 8) the very "hearth of God" (xxix. 1)³ shall crumble into dust.

Such, it would appear, is Isaiah's outlook and forecast. The picture of time present is dark; dark are the prophet's anticipations. Is there no ray of light in the vista which opens to him of time to come? Or is he simply another Amos, perchance another Hosea, in his proclamation of utter destruction—this time for Jehovah's "pleasant plant" Judah

¹ It is perhaps safe to adopt this explanation of what, mistakenly, is termed the prophecy of the "Virgin-born" (vii. 14). If conjecture has fastened on Hezekiah as the child of promise, it might be replied that, while the later historian (2 Ki. xviii.-xx.) has portrayed him in glowing colours, the real Hezekiah was by no means prepared to follow Isaiah's lead.

² Cf. Kennett, *Composition of the Book of Isaiah*, p. 19.

³ Ariel: the lion of God, or the hearth of God. In this designation of Jerusalem there is perhaps an allusion to beliefs already current as to the sanctity and inviolability of Jerusalem which, unlike another prophet (Micah iii. 11), the prophet does not expressly combat.

(v. 7)—in that great and terrible “Day of the LORD” which is depicted in such lurid glow?

He is not another Amos. On the assumption that the younger contemporary of Amos saw ground of hope,¹ it can be said of the great Jerusalemite that he strides on where Hosea had shown the way. If he can contemplate the ruin of the fated city,² he can nevertheless anticipate a time when the Assyrian world-power, once instrument of the divine vengeance, will, because of its presumptuous arrogancy, itself be object and victim of divine wrath (x. 5-16). He foretells judgment, yet his threatenings are not for Judah as a whole. Apparently he differentiates between the guilty and a faithful few; while disaster will overwhelm the scoffers at himself, his message, and his God (i. 23, 24, ii. 12, iii. 14, 15, v. 21-24), there is an open door of hope for his own spiritual children (viii. 16-18), albeit they too must pass through the fires of tribulation (i. 25, xxx. 20). He dwells emphatically on a “very small remnant” (i. 9); it consists of human souls, strong by reason of an unflinching trust. Beautiful is his image of the divine Architect Who, in Zion’s reconstruction, accounts them and employs them as “a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, of sure foundation” (xxviii. 16). Yet more; the prophet sees in his mind’s eye not merely a renovated and at length holy city (i. 26, 27), but the form, purely human in its majestic lineaments,³ of an ideal Prince (ix. 6), of

¹ Which is open to doubt.

² Not, perhaps, at an earlier period of his activity. Cf. i. 26, 27.

³ Not an immortal God-man. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 306.

an anointed¹ King of Davidic lineage (xi. 1-5), who shall "reign in righteousness" (xxxii. 1).

Amos is the harsh foreteller of judgment. So too is Hosea if the sternness of his message be not really tempered by the conception of a mighty and enduring love. As for Isaiah of Jerusalem, he rises to the thought of a purifying discipline,—the divine judgment, however sore, becomes with him a means whereby, in the divine plan, the salvation of "the remnant" will be brought about. Sublime in his conception of God he is sublime in his assertion that absolute trust is the true spiritual bond of union between God and man (vii. 9).

Rapidly we pass on. If there be no lingering over another prophetic work which belongs in large part to Isaiah's day it is because the genuine utterances of Micah the Morasthite strike a note practically identical with that of his compatriot and older contemporary. He is equally persuaded of a dread coming forth of Jehovah (i. 24); a people's corruption will be visited with judgment; their ground of confidence a delusion, the fondly-pictured abode of deity shall become a wreck (iii. 11, 12). A glance suffices at a triplet of prophecies which, later additions deducted, emanates from Isaiah's "School." On the one hand we remark the woe pronounced on a sinful Jerusalem (Zeph. iii. 1-13); on the other hand we watch the rise of the Chaldean and the Mede; the day of the Fall of Nineveh (B.C. 606), and with it the collapse of the Assyrian world-power, draws on apace (Nahum ii., iii.; Habbak. i., ii.). The

¹ For the original significance of "anointing," see Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 98.

Reform of Josiah (2 Ki. xxii. 13) lies already in the past; he himself has fallen at the battle of Megiddo (B.C. 608); hurried is the march of events; a Chaldean army is encamped before Jerusalem (B.C. 587); a year later the doomed city meets its fate (2 Ki. xxv.), and, by Nebuchadnezzar's orders, the house of the Lord, the royal palace, even all the great houses, are given over to the flames. Of the inhabitants of Judah the poorer sort live on in what is no longer their own land. Others, the flower of the populace, are transported to Babylon. Among them are certain noble youths who, centuries later, become heroes of splendid if romantic stories told to strengthen the strong and to nerve fearful hearts in the awful days of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabean struggle.

Thus Judah and Israel have met their fate. But while the Northern Kingdom was erased from the pages of history, there was still a future for the men of Judah. Their Kingdom had been swept away, but they themselves lived on; their continuity asserted itself as, wherever found, they begin to be known to one another and to the foreigner as the Jewish people.¹ They had been granted a century of respite; and this helps to explain the fact that their religion survived the catastrophe. If they persisted as a people it was because of their persistence in clinging to their people's God.²

The period of the Exile thus approached and entered, we at once turn to the great prophetic writings which are respectively connected with the names

¹ But cf. Kennett, *The Servant of the Lord*, pp. 22 f.

² Cf. Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 123.

of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, with the so-called Deutero-Isaiah.

Jeremiah. A native of Anathoth, near Jerusalem (i. 1), he "in whom Israelitish prophetism found its purest exemplar and attained its highest and completest development"¹ was, like Ezekiel (and probably Hosea) of priestly origin,² and perhaps officiated at his own village shrine. The prophetic call came to him in early life (i. 6); for some three and twenty years his message was delivered by the spoken word (xxv. 3); when he begins to write it is by reason of a divine command (xxxvi. 1, 2). Another twenty years of storm and stress roll by; then, among exiles who, shortly after the capture of Jerusalem, fled away to Egypt, he is quickly lost to view if legend is busy with his old age and the manner of his death. That his chequered life was a prolonged and noble martyrdom is manifest from the composite work which, if it bears his name, is the product of reporters, historians, poets, editors, and annotators, who, except for his friend Baruch, are unknown; but comparatively few are the oracles retained by criticism as the genuine utterances of the "weeping prophet" of traditional but mistaken designation.³ They suffice to reveal the salient features of Jeremiah's character; his sternness and veracity, his loyalty and courage, his sadness and his tenderness, the peculiar sensitiveness of his nature. They disclose his conceptions,

¹ Cornill, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

² The priest Hilkiyah his father (i. 1) and the Hilkiah of 2 Ki. xxii. 4 are probably two distinct persons.

³ Derived from the late book of Lamentations and from similar elegies interspersed by editors among his oracles.

the burden of his song, the manner of his expectations.¹

Jeremiah inveighs against a popular religion (ii. 21-23) which, as in the Northern Kingdom so in Judah,² had displayed the corrupt and corrupting influences of Baal-worship. Adopting Hosea's metaphor, he has much to say of glaring unfaithfulness to the marriage bond which united a people to its God (iii. 8). Like Isaiah he lashes a fatuous and misguided foreign policy (ii. 36, 37). For a brief space he looks for the awakening of a nation's nobler self (iii. 21—iv. 4);³ then, disillusioned by a fruitless search (v. 1), and his soul bowed down within him (iv. 19-22), he depicts the havoc destined to be wrought in the land by a fierce people⁴ who, so he thinks, are to prove themselves the "Scourge of God" (iv. 13, 23-26, vi. 1-5, 11, 16-20). The threatened danger passes; then, object of derision, he apparently keeps himself aloof,⁵ he is still bent on serving if content to stand and wait. The dirge sung over Josiah and his wail raised for Jehoahaz (xxii. 10; cf. 2 Ki. xxiii. 29, 34), the reign of Jehoiachim entered, the days becoming ever more and more anxious,

¹ For Jeremiah and the Book of Jeremiah see Artt. in *E.B.*, Hastings' *D.B.*, *R.G.C.*; Budde, *op. cit.*; Cornill, *op. cit.*; Liechtenhan, *Jeremia*.

² Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, 126.

³ Hopes which, according to xxxi. 2-6, include Israel. But the section is, perhaps, a later expansion.

⁴ The Scythians.

⁵ During the period of Josiah's Reform; when, by State enactment, strict observance began of that Deuteronomic Code which, said to have been discovered (2 Ki. xxii. 8, xxiii. 2), was of recent origination. Cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 136 ff.

Jeremiah is again to the front—not so much to renew the attack on a heathenized popular religion (vii. 3-12, 21, 22),¹ as to denounce a hollow and pietistic stickling for the letter of a Law which has become but recently the order of the day (viii. 8, 9).² He sees no sign of radical change for the better in the public morals; harvest is past, summer is ended, but his nation is not saved (viii. 20); with what appears to some the clearing of the political horizon³ his own outlook is darker, and blacker are his anticipations. His people are full of the arrogant assurance that God is bound to stand up for them; the prophet castigates their overweening pride (xiii. 15). They fondly believe that Babylon is the liberator; Jeremiah recognizes in the new world-power the instrument of judgment, and a vision rises before him of a cup of the wine of the divine wrath which Jerusalem and the cities of Judah must drain (xxv. 15-29). He bewails the utter fruitlessness of his errand. His eyes run down with tears at the hurrying on of disaster, at the final crack of doom (xiii. 17-19).

Again and again is the prophet—the “gentle lamb,” it might be said (xi. 19), of the pathetic allusion—seen in all the deep anguish of his stricken soul. He knows what it is to falter and to flinch; in a dark hour of despair he can curse the day of his birth (xx. 14-18). Solitary is his life; at times

¹ Jeremiah appears to know nothing of any Mosaic sacrificial legislation.

² According to xi. 1-5 the prophet had taken an active part in its promulgation. The section is, however, of doubtful authenticity.

³ To the fall of Nineveh there had followed Nebuchadnezzar's defeat of Egypt, an event calculated to inspire hopes in Egypt's vassal, Judah.

it seems to him that, spent in God's cause, it has been spent to no purpose. But he takes heart of grace; if he be almost heard to say:

I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff—¹

his faith is nevertheless strong enough to find utterance in a triumph-song of trust (xviii. 5-8) in the God whom, clinging to, he learns to know better than his predecessors² as Master of the World. Hence, encompassed still by the darkness of manifold perplexity, he can rise to a great hope. The End will be good—"when God will!"³

Jeremiah can steadily contemplate the downfall of Judah. He has seen with his own eyes its capital a wreck. His explanation is ever the same; divine judgment manifested in that very time of foreign oppression which he is able to reconcile with his trust in God (xxvii. 12). Refusing to contemplate his nation's annihilation, he is persuaded that the ultimate divine purpose is the moral reformation of a people who are destined to survive as a race; hence he can bid exiles settle down in Babylon (xxix. 4-7), hence the business transaction which, recorded of him (xxxii. 6-13), is significant of confidence for time to come. He anticipates a Return (xxix. 10-14), a Restoration—for a people of whom it can be said in truth that they "know the LORD" (xxxi. 1-3). With his Woe for puppet-kings of his

¹ Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, lv.

² "Seine verschmähte Prophetie ward ihm die Brücke zu einem inneren Verkehr mit der Gottheit" (Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 149).

³ Cf. *Old-English Chronicle*, *sub ann.* 1066.

day (xxiii. 1-3) he couples his great promise (xxiii. 5-8) of "a righteous Branch"; of an ideal ruler of David's line who should execute judgment and justice in what for the prophet and his people was "the land" *par excellence*. When he bestows on him by anticipation the majestic name "the LORD is our righteousness," his thought is surely of a nation at length responsive both in heart and deed to the divine requirements. Perhaps he conceives of the righteous King himself as God's vice-gerent and as quick to say: "thine, O LORD, is the Kingdom."¹

Jeremiah had not laboured in vain. That his people—and with them their religion—survived the catastrophe was largely the issue of his work. His words reached them, came home to them, as, with sad hearts, they complained: "how shall we sing the LORD'S song in a strange land?"²

To that "strange land" we now follow them.

Ezekiel.³ The son of a priest of Jerusalem (i. 1), he had been carried away to Babylon with Jehoiachin (B.C. 597) in early manhood. There he married (xxiv. 16-18); his place of abode was Tel Abib (iii. 15), on the river Chebar (i. 3, iii. 16). Six years before the destruction, by Nebuchadnezzar, of Jerusalem he received in the land of his exile the prophetic call, and for upwards of twenty years, cramped by physical infirmity, he exercised the prophetic office.

¹ 1 Chron. xxix. 11. The term (=Kingdom of God, and placed by the chronicler in the mouth of David) is of rare occurrence in the Old Testament, and then only in the later books.

² Ps. cxxxvii.

³ Authorities, generally, as before, with the addition of Benzinger, *Wie wurden die Juden das Volk des Gesetzes?*

When and how he died we do not know. A bold and determined man, the sensitiveness, the tenderness, of Jeremiah are not his; vigorous in word and deed he, like Jeremiah, can lose heart; regarding himself as simply God's mouth-piece, he never quails before men; his deep sense of insignificance is indicated by the constant self-designation "son of man."¹ Last of the prophets from one point of view, he is the first who deliberately engages in the composition of a book; its contents, regarded as a whole, were written down and elaborated by one not so much orator as man of letters. If the work which justly bears Ezekiel's name has not remained intact the redactional modifications are comparatively few; that there are transpositions here and repetitions there is about all that need be said of the literary production of the prophet-exile's pen.

What, then, is to be gathered from those passages of the Book of Ezekiel which fall for consideration? ²

Ezekiel is alive to the privileged position of his people (v. 5). Not sparing words, he enlarges on the transgression of a "rebellious house" (iii. 10). With penetrating eye he surveys the course of events; now from his Judaeian home, and now from afar as one of the first bands of exiles. The insensate goings-on at Jerusalem, its investiture by the Chaldean army and the horrors of the siege, hopeless resistance terminated amidst piteous scenes, the deportation wholesale of the flower of Judah with its

¹ Cf. Ps. viii. 4, 5, where, however, there is the double thought of the insignificance and greatness of man.

² The discussion of some may be properly deferred to the next chapter.

misguided King, despair mingled with frenzy on the part of those who remain, dashed hopes and deep depression of his fellow-exiles in Babylon ; all these things are felt and affirmed by him to be the pouring out of judgment (v. 8-17) ; in acted parable (iv. 1-17) he portrays the inevitable end. If when tidings reach him that "the city is smitten" (xxxiii. 21) he opens his mouth, he appears to supplement the refugee's narrative of accomplished woe. He has already dwelt on "the end," "the day of trouble" which, "near," is a day which "is come" (vii. 2, 6, 7, 10) as a veritable Day of the LORD ; a day on which God, abandoning His dwelling-place, has Himself wrought its destruction. The prophet's central thought—in the first instance—is that Jerusalem (*i.e.* the nation in Judah) is hopelessly corrupt and that its day of doom has come ; then, with the conviction that the future of his people lies with those who, delivered into the hands of strangers (xi. 9) shall yet find a "little sanctuary" (xi. 16) in a foreign land another thought masters him. He hears of the Fall of Jerusalem ; if for one brief moment he insists on its moral necessity, he soon turns to another and a brighter theme ; henceforward his subject is the future restoration of a people sought out and gathered in by the divine Shepherd (xxxiv. 11-16). A vision comes to him of the valley full of dry bones, of the breath which breathes upon the slain, of the rising up upon their feet of an exceeding great army (xxxvii. 1-14) ; he is quick to interpret it of a nation raised from the dead, of their restoration to national life in their own land.¹ He paints his great picture

¹ There is no thought whatsoever of the resurrection of the body.

of the reconstructed State¹ (xl.-xlviii.); before doing so he follows up his emphatic declaration: "I will be their God, and they shall be my people" with an emphatic "The heathen shall know . . . !" (xxxvii. 27, 28). He has thought of a Day of the LORD once—as a day of doom for Judah and Jerusalem; he again thinks of it, but it is now to give to the already familiar term another application (xxx. 2); "that day" (xxx. 14, 19), a day when, Israel's safety secured, heathen nations making their last onslaught shall be objects of divine fury, of divine Self-assertion.² With his fantastic representation of King Gog of Magog he points to, in some uncertain future, a Day of Judgment on a heathen world (xxxviii., xxxix.).³ Freely does he avail himself of, and thereby hand on, the paraphernalia of long-standing conceptions (xxi. 8 f., v. 17, xxx. 18, xxiii. 32, xiv. 19, xx. 33, vii. 7, xiii. 11, xxi. 1-4, xxxiv. 12). Practically monotheistic, he recognizes no deity but the God of Israel; One who for him is universal lord and judge. His excessive nationalism therein displays itself that, convinced that his God will give Israel a "new heart" (xxxvi. 26) and so effect Israel's salvation, he nowhere rises to a hope for the moral-religious reform of foreign nations. Never do his expectations go beyond the religious elevation, peace, and prosperity of a re-united people in the land ~~to~~ again their own. In sharp contrast with Isaiah and Jeremiah, he is not concerned to extol the gifts and

¹ In which Israel and Judah are to be united for ever. Cf. xxxvii. 25-22.

² The God of Ezekiel acts for His "holy name's sake" (xxxvi. 22).

³ Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 154.

virtues and graces of a destined King; content to assume the conventional Davidic monarch, he pictures him as overshadowed by the priest (xxxiv. 23, 24, xxxvii. 24);¹ the idea of a Kingdom is subordinated to the idea of a Church. But little interested in political and social questions, he dreams his dream of an ideal State. Its characteristic feature is not so much righteousness as holiness: that full ritual observance to the development of which he devotes the last years of his life.

Whether hailed by him or not at the outset, Jeremiah, alive to the poverty of results, had used strong words about the new legislation of Josiah's reform. Far different is the attitude of Ezekiel; nor is it unnatural in the case of one who had been, and who remains, the priest. In so far as he concludes that man's highest blessings are dependent on an obedience zealous for mere external duties, he prepares the way for a tremulous anxiety soon to be exemplified in Jewish piety.² His real greatness lies, scarcely in a directly spiritual influence, but rather in his bracing himself to the then pressing task of organization.³

We turn from "the father of Jewish Eschatology"⁴ to an anthology of prophecies which goes by the name of "Deutero-Isaiah" (Isai. xl.-lxvi.).⁵ A brilliant jewel of prophetic literature, it belongs, as already hinted, to days later by far than those of

¹ The "one shepherd" is not the "King." The "prince" is very nearly, if not quite, a lay-figure.

² Ps. cxix. ³ Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 157. ⁴ *R.G.G.*, ii. 801.

⁵ Authorities, generally, as already instanced, with the addition of Lehmann, *Die Geschichte Judahs und Israels im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte*.

Isaiah of Jerusalem, and there is perhaps a consensus of opinion that it is a composite work in which at least two hands must be detected. In the one case there is a "Great Unknown," whose earlier and later prophecies (xl.-lv.) date in the period towards the end of the Captivity; in the other (lvi.-lxvi.) there is an equally unknown prophet ("Trito-Isaiah"), whose lot is cast in an age when the Return is already an accomplished fact. Deferring consideration of this latter group of prophecies, we here fix our attention on the words of him who spoke when the long night of Exile was about to be followed by the dawn, "Deutero-Isaiah" himself. His work falls into two main sections. The prophet of consolation, he is also deemed author of the so-called "Songs on the Servant of Jahve."¹

The prophet of consolation. There was ground of consolation; for the prophet, if not, in the first instance, for those to whom he spoke. Babylon his home and theirs, he and they alike saw it "the slowly-fading mistress of the world";² it was plain that the collapse of the great world-power, instrument of divine judgment and correction, was not far off; the Jews, who by this time had settled down in the land of their captivity, could not only watch the rise of Persia, but see in Cyrus the fated instrument of wrath on "great Babylon," tyrant of their people (xlvii. 6). Thus far, but no further, are prophet and fellow-exiles alike; if they are beset with new fears and grave doubtings, he has another and a higher explanation of the destined course of events. He bids them see God's agent in the Persian conqueror;

¹ But cf. Kennett, *op. cit.*

² Tennyson, *Idylls*.

agent for Babylon's destruction (xli. 25, xlv. 11), and for their own deliverance. Alluding to Cyrus by name (xlv. 1), he does so in a way which, strange to his hearers, is significant of his own sure and certain hope; his thought ceases to be of time past, he exults, and will have others exult with him, in the thought of time present. His great words of comfort are sounded in their ears (xl. 1, 2); he will stir them to breathless expectations of a way prepared for their journey which is none other than the "way of the LORD" (xl. 3-5); from his announcement of "good tidings" (xl. 9-11) he goes on to anticipations of strength divinely renewed (xl. 29-31), of the gladness of the day of departure (xlviii. 20), of the joyousness of the Return (li. 11). He has already bade them see in Cyrus the LORD'S anointed¹ (xlv. 1); ere long, as events have hurried on,² he bids them recognize in Cyrus God's instrument for Jerusalem's renovation (xlv. 28; cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23). He sees the glory of the Lord revealed as the LORD glorifies Himself in Jacob's redemption (xlv. 23, xlv. 13). Zion, long desolate, is now to be all-glorious³ as the bride of her LORD (xlix. 18); Jerusalem, revived at the voice which bids her "awake," is all too strait for the numbers of her sons and daughters. Henceforth "the holy city" (xlix. 19, li. 17, lii. 1, 2), she is magnificent in her

¹ Messiah.

² The campaign of Cyrus against Lydia (B.C. 546) already lay behind, and the prophet's hopes rose with the Persian conquest of the whole of Asia Minor, while his latest prophecies belong to the day when (B.C. 538) Babylon had fallen and Cyrus, arrived on the scene, had issued the edict giving permission for the Return.

³ Cf. Ps. xlv. 13.

splendour (liv. 11, 12), her inhabitants are taught of the LORD, great is the peace of her children (liv. 13). The prophet thinks of a mighty influence which, extending far beyond her borders (li. 4, 5), is felt and yielded to by the foreigner. The potentates of the earth do homage to her. Rich tribute is poured into her coffers.¹ In that they bow down to Jerusalem the nations prostrate themselves before her God (xlv. 14, xlix. 23).

Marvellous is this picture of a renovated Jerusalem. It is the old Jerusalem which has sprung from its ashes; Zion in its beauty is still the familiar "holy hill" of olden times. The scene plainly laid on this earth, the region of which this "holy city" is capital, is as plainly co-extensive with what at last is entitled to the proud name, "the holy land." That the prophet's conception is of a Jewish Kingdom is certain, but to look for a monarch of Davidic lineage is to look in vain. It startles us—it must have administered a tremendous shock to contemporary Judaism—to be told that the LORD's "anointed" is not even of Jewish origin, but is precisely the Persian King. Messiah is coming, has actually come, in the person of Cyrus who, acting on God's behalf, is at once Emancipator and (indirectly) Renovator. He, Cyrus Messiah, is, no doubt, suzerain; but by no possibility can he be identified with the Messiah of long-cherished anticipations, whose throne is divinely and securely planted on the holy hill of Zion.²

¹ Cf. Pss. xlv. 12; lxxii. 10, 11.

² Ps. ii. 2, 6. While the Hebrew word, with the article prefixed, occurs in the O.T. only in the phrase, "the anointed priest" (Lev. iv.

The "Messianic idea" (as we will now speak of it) has, in short, completely vanished. Another idea has superseded it in the prophecies of the "Great Unknown";¹ for, instead of any Davidic King, he now brings full in view the form of the LORD'S "Servant" (xlii. 1-4, xlix. 1-6, l. 4-9, lii. 13-14, liii. 12).

It has been said that the "Servant" is "an imaginative fusion of all the noble teachers and preachers of the Jewish Religion in and after the time of Ezra." But the time of Ezra lies still ahead; the conjecture, moreover, is well supported that the "Songs on the Servant" are really by Deutero-Isaiah himself,² whose thought surely is, not of any single personage,³ but of a Jewish people, regarded by him from the point of view of their divine calling.⁴ "Israel-Judah is not itself the one sole object of the divine concern; it is rather the instrument employed by God for the accomplishment of another and a loftier aim; that of One who, sovereign Lord of the heathen, wills their salvation, and Who makes Israel's destinies guide them to Himself. Israel is God's Servant, God's Witness; if the divine Torah has been inscribed on Israel's heart

5, 16, vi. 22), "Jahve's anointed" is a common title of the reigning King, and, in the Psalter, emphasizes the ideal aspect of the kingship and its religious significance. Cf. *E.B.*, iii. 3058.

¹ Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 158.

² By some critics the "Songs on the Servant of Jahve" are assigned to another and a later hand (cf. *E.B.*, ii. 2205). But this, says Budde (*op. cit.*, 35 f.) is "to put out the eyes of the book." "The conclusion will remain that the Songs . . . form an integral part of Deutero-Isaiah, composed by that author himself" (Cornill, *op. cit.*, p. 291).

³ Whether of his own or of a later day.

⁴ Budde, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

it is that the nations may obtain a blessing."¹ Not that the "Servant's" privilege and calling have spared him from shame and contempt, far from it. In the eyes of men stricken of God and afflicted, he, brought as a lamb to the slaughter, has passed through suffering to death. Numbered with the transgressors he has borne the sin of many. Yet glory awaits him. He receives the world as his spoil.²

Thus does Deutero-Isaiah, if dominated by an extraordinary national self-consciousness, rise to grandly inclusive anticipations for his nation, and, through his nation, for the world.

The Return has begun. Cyrus has issued his edict; with the year B.C. 537 the stream sets in from Babylon to Palestine; for if many Jewish families elect to stay on in what thenceforth is the second home of Judaism, numbers avail themselves of Cyrus' permission, and travel by the highway of their God to the land of their fathers. The priestly element is, perhaps, conspicuous among them. They make a desolated Jerusalem their headquarters. A well-born Jew, Shesbazzar by name, is set over them by Cyrus as Governor. They do what they can; but circumstances make it clear that the promise is a long way short of its fulfilment, and that their God still delays to take up His abode in His deserted dwelling-place. At length His messenger, Ezra, arrives upon the scene, and there follows the promulgation and ever

¹ *R. G. G.*, iii. 325.

² "Es gibt keinen Gott als Jahve und Israel ist sein (Knecht d.h.) Prophet—so lautet das triumphierende Credo" (Wellhausen, *I. J. G.*, p. 158, cf. p. 159).

stricter observance of an again elaborated Law.¹ Nehemiah comes next, and at once takes in hand the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem.²

To the period thus entered—and roughly outlined—there belongs yet another group of prophetic writings. "Trito-Isaiah" is one; three more are the prophecies which bear the names of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Joel shall be added on; and, their late date assumed, there must be a rapid glance at passages already instanced in the Books of Amos and Hosea.³

Haggai. Little if anything is known of the man himself,⁴ but the precise date when the "word of the LORD" was spoken by him is specified (i. 1).⁵ He brings a sweeping charge of gross neglect; in a severe famine which has devastated the land he sees an evidence of the divine displeasure with a people who have not yet troubled themselves with the rebuilding of the Temple. He urges them to put their hands to the work, and on their quick response he exchanges reproof for strong assurance that what has long been looked for is actually coming about. The work completed divine wrath will give way to divine blessing. Heaven and earth, sea and land, all nations, shall be involved in a great shaking-process; then the nations of the earth will bring all manner of precious things

¹ The Priestly Code (P).

² For Ezra and Nehemiah see *int. al.*, Schmidt, *Die Geschichtsschreibung im A. T.* Cyrus is followed by Darius, and the latter by Artaxerxes Longimanus.

³ Authorities, generally, as already instanced.

⁴ Cf. Ezra v. 1, vi. 14. If he had seen Solomon's Temple in its glory (Hagg. ii.) he would be well over seventy years of age.

⁵ B.C. 520.

to the glorified and glorious sanctuary which is once more abode of the divine majesty. Messiah is already in the midst of those to whom the prophet speaks; Zerubbabel, himself of the royal line of David,¹ is Governor, and will ere long set up the Messianic Kingdom.

Zechariah. Except that he was the contemporary of Haggai (Ezra v. 1, vi. 14), head of a "father's house" among the priests (Neh. xii. 16), the son of Berachiah the son of Iddo the prophet (i. 1), history is silent respecting him. Of the book which bears his name the last six chapters are really an appendix of uncertain date and authorship; only the first eight can be assigned to Zechariah himself, and he begins with a call to repentance (i. 1-6); a long section² follows in which his message is similar to that of Haggai. The one essential thing, with Zechariah, is the rebuilding of the Temple; that done, God will surely return to Jerusalem (i. 16, ii. 10). Messiah is already there; Zerubbabel ("the Branch," iii. 8) will carry all before him (iv. 6, 7) and ascend the throne (iv. 9). With a divinely crowned King and a High Priest purified from sin (iii. 1-8) peace and concord shall reign in the Messianic Kingdom.

It was ordered otherwise. The Temple was rebuilt; still no sign was vouchsafed of the divine Presence. The hopes of Haggai and Zechariah were rudely dashed; their Messiah proved a fond delusion,

¹ The Chronicler (1 Chron. iii. 19) represents him as a descendant of David. If he were not really such the promise (ii. 20-23) is scarcely intelligible.

² The vision section, i. 7-vi. 15. It will be referred to in the next chapter.

Zerubbabel vanished from the scene, perhaps he met with a violent death. Once more the outlook was dark; if the nation had been in some sort renovated there was much that clamoured for amendment in the nation's life;—so it may be concluded from the somewhat later prophetic works to which we now turn.

“Malachi.” If it be patent that the personal allusion (i. 1) is intended to be understood of the proper name of him to whom “the burden (oracle) of the Word of the LORD” came, the fact remains that the last Book of the Minor Prophets was originally a nameless appendix,¹ and that, while impatience saw the Preparer of the Way (iii. 1) in the writer himself, the short but incisive prophecy is of unknown authorship. Be he who he may, the prophet was unquestionably a strong personality. Nowhere specifying dates, his work goes far to reveal the circumstances in which it was born. Apparently the Temple has been re-built (iii. 10); a Governor still rules (i. 8); the fervour of days immediately subsequent to the Return has been exchanged for sluggishness and laxity; in prevailing conditions there is evidence that Ezra (is he the “Messenger?”) and Nehemiah have still to enter upon their work; the anonymous prophet makes ready for their coming after the manner of his heavenly Forerunner who

¹The Hebrew word *malachi* simply means “my angel,” or “my messenger.” When it is observed how the phrase is employed, iii. 1, the conclusion appears imperative that the proper name “Malachi” originated in a misinterpretation of this word. “Already the LXX have, strangely, in i. 1, ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ . . . and the Targum has “by the hand of Malachi (or, of my messenger), whose name is called Ezra the scribe” (Driver, *Intr. to Lit. of O.T.*, p. 334).

prepares the way of the Lord (iii. 1).¹ Like Haggai and Zechariah, he too is persuaded that salvation is very nigh at hand; he adds a new feature in anticipating Elijah's return (iv. 5);² therein differing from his two predecessors he vehemently insists on a radical cleansing of the nation—in particular of its chief men—at the great and dreadful Day when the LORD whom the nation seeks should “suddenly come to his Temple” (iii. 1-3, iv. 1, 5).³ The godless will then be rooted out, the pious shall come to honour (iii. 17, iv. 2). Judah and Jerusalem shall again be “pleasant unto the LORD as in the days of old” (iii. 4); a “delightful land”; in its happiness the envy of the nations (iii. 10-12).

“Trito-Isaiah.” With Isaiah lv. the glorious prophecies of “Deutero-Isaiah” end. As for the remaining chapters (lvi.-lxvi.), they are assigned by some to a single author who, himself a Jerusalemite, prophesied shortly before Nehemiah's arrival on the scene.⁴ In contents, form, and expression, he is essentially dependent on the “Great Unknown”; the circumstances depicted are in the main similar to those which “Malachi” portrays; stigmatizing national transgressions, he threatens the divine wrath. Bright are his anticipations for those who, of a contrite and humble spirit (lvii. 15), are steadfast in their allegiance to the sacred Law (lvi. 1-5, lviii. 13).

¹ The date of the prophecy may be as early as B.C. 460, scarcely later than B.C. 450. “Probably about the middle of the fifth century B.C.” (Kennett, *The Servant of the Lord*, p. 16).

² Unless iv. 4-6 be another and a later version of iii. 1.

³ So the unknown author of Zech. ix.-xiv.

⁴ So, generally, Cornill, *op. cit.*, pp. 291 f. But cf. Budde, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

His thought is of divine intervention; of a coming redeemer (lix. 16-20). Great and glorious is the future destined for his people and his land (lviii. 8, lx., lxi., lxii. 1-5, 11, 12). The supremacy of Jerusalem will be owned by the nations and the Kings of the earth (lx. 3, 14), who, owning the supremacy of the Holy One of Israel, will flock from far and wide to the one "house of prayer" (lvi. 7, lxvi. 23). The holy city is invested by the prophet with a supernatural radiancy (lx. 19, 20); long life, prosperity, everlasting joy, are to be the portion of her children (lxv. 18-24); the universal harmony will extend to the brute creation (lxv. 25). The metaphor used by "Deutero-Isaiah" to strengthen an affirmation (li. 6) is turned by "Trito-Isaiah" into the statement of a fact; he has drawn his picture of a "new Jerusalem," he confidently expects the creation of "new heavens and a new earth" (lxv. 17, lxvi. 22). He makes his great appeal: "Oh that thou wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down" (lxiv. 1-3); he is confident that the moment of divine intervention is come: "Behold, the Lord hath proclaimed unto the end of the earth, Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, thy salvation cometh" (lxii. 11).

With "Trito-Isaiah" there is no consciousness of a Messianic King; herein he and Hosea are alike. Notes are struck by him which accord with those heard in that passage of the Book of Amos (ix. 9-15) which is perhaps the joyous addition of a later day.

Whoever Joel was—but for the statement (i. 1) that he was "the son of Pethuel" nothing is known as to his identity—he must be reckoned among the

post-exilic prophets. Judah-Jerusalem (*i.e.* Jerusalem and the immediately surrounding districts) are inhabited; the allusions appear to make it obvious that the writer addresses himself to the community of the Second Temple; the city walls are referred to (ii. 9), and accordingly Nehemiah has done his work; the tone, style, and diction of the prophecy, together with the conditions illustrated, might suggest B.C. 400—certainly not earlier—as its approximate date. The prophet dwells on a calamity which has devastated the land; in a terrible plague of locusts (i. 6, 7, 16-20) he discovers the vehicle of a final consuming judgment, the coming of a day of the LORD (ii. 1). Thus far his words are his own: then, feeling himself to be simply God's mouthpiece, he urges repentance as sole ground of hope, he proclaims the divine answer to a people responsive, with fasting, weeping, and wailing, to a solemn call to prayer. Not only shall the famine cease, the land once more yield her increase in abundant measure (ii. 18-27); there will be a rich outpouring of other and far higher blessings (ii. 28, 29). The great day of the LORD, awful in its tokens (ii. 30, 31, iii. 14-16), is indeed at hand, but it will have no terrors for the Jewish people; Judah and Jerusalem shall abide for ever, from generation to generation (ii. 32, iii. 16-18, 20 21). Its terrors will be for their enemies; who gathered together for judgment (iii. 2, 12), will meet with a recompense (iii. 4) in destruction.¹

It has been said that, if the Bible history of the Jewish people does not actually break off at the

¹ Similarly in the tiny mosaic of prophecies which, cited by Joel (ii. 32) is headed "The Vision of Obadiah."

destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, it in any case reaches its close with Ezra and Nehemiah.¹ Such, indeed, is the fact; so far as the Old Testament is concerned, historical matter proper is no longer available, and it is but a solitary prophetic voice, that of Joel, which has just placed us in a somewhat later period;² if conjecture more or less speculative in its nature bids us still travel on,³ there is sufficient reason for declining to obey. The curtain of the Old Testament has, in short, fallen; we have arrived, for the time being, at our journey's end.

It accordingly remains that, surveying the long road which has been traversed, we should attempt to summarize the Eschatological beliefs and conceptions of Judaism—in particular of the Judaism of the latest period reached—as they appear to meet us in the pages of the Old Testament.

But to lead up to them by some generalizations.

Israel is practically unthinkable apart from Israel's God. A few nomadic tribes are slowly compacted into a nation, the deity of—it may be—their adoption⁴ becomes the righteous God of universal sove-

¹ Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 187.

² The date of Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem is ca. B.C. 432; that of Joel not earlier than B.C. 400.

³ The Maccabean period. Kennett (*The Composition of the Book of Isaiah, The Servant of the Lord*) places a great wealth of material in this age (cf. *J.T.S.*, xiii. p. 132). The section Zech. ix.-xiv. has been assigned to the first third of second century B.C. (*E.B.*, iv. 4395; cf. Cornill, *op. cit.*, pp. 365 ff.; Budde, *op. cit.*, p. 53). Several of the Psalms (*e.g.* xlv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxxiii., see Cornill, *op. cit.*, pp. 407 f.) are, quite conceivably, of Maccabean origin (but cf. Barnes, *C.B.E.*, p. 153). This thrilling epoch in Jewish history will be more properly considered in the next chapter.

⁴ "Israel übernahm in Kadesch ein neues Bekenntnis. Es trat zum

reignty ; the relationship between Him and them, as conceived of in successive stages, is singularly close. Unique is Jehovah's position in regard to a people of His choice, unique their position with reference to Himself.

This national conviction, deeply rooted and persistent, continually manifests itself in national complacency. The people, it might seem, make great words their own : " this God is our God for ever and ever " ;¹ they rush to the false conclusion that He will therefore forever extend to them His special favour according to their own desires and effect their deliverance from external foes. Prophet after prophet brings them to book. By painful processes they are taught the true nature of the divine requirements ; disciplined and purified by disaster and adversity, they are awakened to a consciousness of sin. The lesson is forced home to them that, if Jehovah has fixed His choice on them as a nation, it is that they may fulfil in some special way Jehovah's will. Their position of privilege is unique ; it is in order that they may be made a righteous nation, " in order that there might be one nation which Jehovah might claim for His inheritance, His own possession, and on which He might look with pleasure." ² Yet more ; Israel, " a section of the Jewish nation," ³ is the LORD'S " Servant " ; as suffering and exalted " Servant " he is destined to a twofold mission. The dispersed of his own nation—" Lost Tribes " and

Jahwismus über, dessen Vermittler die Midianiter waren." Beer, *Mose und seine Werk*, p. 32. Cf. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit*, pp. 425 f.

¹ Ps. xlviii. 14.

² Kennett, *The Servant of the Lord*, p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

Diaspora—are to be gathered in by him. In some way or other he is to influence the world for good. That which is, no doubt, absent from the memoirs of Nehemiah and the Priestly Code is already more than “a dim consciousness” with contemporary or nearly contemporary prophetic writers,¹ who feel that Gentile as well as Jew is after all object of Jehovah’s care.

Jewish complacency receives many a rude shock. Time goes on, and its more repellent features are softened and wellnigh disappear; when the long sojourn in Babylon has drawn to its close it is met with in transfigured form. “As they grew familiar with the imposing idolatries which had seemed for the hour to conquer, the higher minds of Israel were more and more convinced of the measureless superiority of their own religion. They recognized that their faith in Jahve had more to justify it than mere racial tradition and prejudice. He was manifestly different from the most exalted of the pagan gods, and would yet assert Himself in His true power as King of the world.” The world, by consequence, would be “the Kingdom of God”; a Kingdom nevertheless identified by great prophets with “the pre-eminence of the favoured race.”² What once was mere complacency has become a grand ambition when it is the fixed belief of Judaism “that Jehovah would deliver Israel and erect it into a glorious empire to which a conquered world would be subject”³—to the great gain of the nations.

¹ Otherwise Kennett (*The Servant of the Lord*, pp. 16, 17).

² Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 5.

³ Shailer Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

At this point we turn from generalizations to summarize Jewish expectations.

1. The conception of a Day of the LORD, met with in very early stages of the nation's history, is dominant to the last. That Day, a great Day, a Day of Jehovah's intervention, is a Day which is very near at hand. As in the portents which presage its approach so in its catastrophic manifestations, it will be a terrible day, a *dénouement* appalling in its every lineament.

2. The great and awful Day of the LORD is conceived of as a Judgment Day. Originally a Day of Judgment on Israel's foes it becomes a Day when Divine Judgment overtakes and overwhelms the very people of Jehovah's choice. Time goes on; and, with the thought that Judaism has undergone the divine penalty and discipline, beliefs centre on a Day of Judgment on those whose hostility to the nation is hostility to the nation's God. Their last great onslaught, divinely purposed, is to issue in their divinely accomplished overthrow. With Jehovah's and His people's final triumph there will come the predicted End.

3. With the Day of the LORD which, awful as the near Judgment Day, is to be in some sort the winding up of history, there will come the beginning of a new era. The supernatural is contemplated, the idea comes in of destruction and re-creation; the fact remains that the scene is laid on this earth, it might be said, perhaps, on a transfigured earth. In any case Jerusalem is to be focal point and centre, seat of government, of a divinely established and everlasting dominion. Pre-eminence, accordingly, attaches to

the Jew—*i.e.* to the chosen people as a whole. But Jewish pre-eminence is to be a source of blessing to other nations, who, if vanquished, have not been annihilated in the final Judgment. Their subjection to Israel and to Israel's God, in no way resented, will be recognized and acclaimed by them as entirely for their good.

We ask: What of the characteristic features of the new era? For the race, immortality; for the individual, length of days, an end of disease and pain, sorrow giving place to perennial joy and gladness. Material prosperity which shall know no bounds. A reign of universal peace which extends to the brute creation. The righteousness which answers to the divine requirements, a "holy" people.

4. A dominion leaps into existence with the new era entered at the great Day of the LORD. The thought being not only of a governed territory or people, but of the governing power, the question arises: In whom is the sovereign authority vested in a transfigured order? Scarcely in the Jewish people as a corporate body; for if Judaism reckons on national ascendancy it nevertheless subordinates itself in its anticipations to a destined ruler. Who and of what sort is he?

It might seem that he is the Davidic King. The belief that the house of David would endure for ever, traceable to early days, strengthens into a conviction with the lapse of time. Psalmists are possessed by it¹ and prophets reaffirm it; they take it for granted that, the Kingdom once restored to Israel, its monarch will have sprung from the royal lineage of David.

¹ Pss. lxxviii. 70, 71, lxxxix. 20 ff.

Messiah, the LORD's anointed,¹ raised to high estate and dignity,² he is ever conceived of as the purely human King. If warrior-monarch who, girded with the avenging sword, rides on victorious over the enemies of his throne,³ he is no mere "national" and "legal" despot of "warlike and bloody rule." Gracious in his bearing and of right noble mien, he is strong in the consciousness of imparted strength, gladsome as assured of the divine favour, unfaltering in his trust in God.⁴ In character and in conduct he is answer incarnate to a people's prayer.⁵ *Noblesse oblige* his motto, he proves himself worthy of his lofty style and titles.⁶ World-wide the blessings which follow as he reigns in righteousness.⁷ He is, every inch of him, a god-like King of men.⁸

Had Jewish hopes soared no higher they would have bequeathed to future ages a great conception of kingship in the portrait of their ideal King.

But the Davidic King is less conspicuous a figure with the added years. At least one prophet repudiates him altogether; a startled people are told that they must see the Messiah they long for—their Emancipator rather than their own acknowledged ruler—in the Persian conqueror. Again he appears on the scene; but it is to be relegated, so it seems, to a secondary position; men think to discover him in a real personage, a Persian official, who is perhaps of David's line, but their hopes are dashed by the

¹ Ps. ii. 1.

² Ps. cx. 1.

³ Ps. xlv. 3 ff.

⁴ Ps. xxi. 1-7.

⁵ Ps. lxxii. 1-7.

⁶ Isai. ix. 6, 7.

⁷ Isai. xi. 1-5, xxxii. 1.

⁸ Mr. Montefiore can scarcely use the words "extremely disagreeable" of this conception of the Jewish Messiah. Cf. *op. cit.*, i. p. xcvi.

event. He continues, in all likelihood, to fill a place in popular expectations ; he is no longer to the front in prophetic writings. That he recedes into the background is, no doubt, due in part to the political circumstances of the period. The fact remains that he becomes, if anything, a mere matter of assumption. A Kingdom—and, consequently, someone who is its King.

A Kingdom. While the figure of the King of David's dynasty fades away from view, the stress laid on the Kingdom is ever more intense. Thought is turned from the earthly sovereign to the divine ruler of the universe. When the curtain of the Old Testament falls it is on those whose hopes are fixed on "a future in which God would be King of His people and bring them into a direct communion with Himself."¹ If, for some mysterious reason, God has withdrawn Himself from His people, the Day will yet come when, a far-off God no longer, He will lift up the light of His countenance upon them and be gracious unto them ; and, through them, to other nations.

Then, on "that Day," the Day of divine intervention, "the Kingdom shall be the LORD'S."²

¹Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

²Obad. 21.

CHAPTER IV.

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.

THE course of events has been brought down to the days of Joel. There will be occasion momentarily to retrace our steps ; otherwise we now move in a period which stretches from ca. B.C. 400 into the first century of the Christian era. At its opening Persia still dominates the nations ; some seventy years elapse, and (B.C. 332) the end comes of Persian supremacy, the eyes of the whole world are fixed on the Macedonian conqueror.¹ Alexander's meteor-like career is terminated by an early death ; then, as his successors contend with one another for the various portions of the dismembered Empire, Palestine becomes battle-field and prize of victory for the opposing powers of Egypt and Syria ; "the Jews," says Josephus, "were like a ship in a storm ; they were tossed by the waves on both sides."² Jerusalem is captured (B.C. 320) by Ptolemy Lagides (Soter), thousands of Jewish captives are deported to Alexandria, for more than a century their country remains under Ptolemaic rule. It passes (B.C. 197) within the Syrian dominions ; and, a too easy ear lent to foreign influences,

¹ Plutarch.

² *Ant.*, xii. 3, 3.

the Jews are to some extent themselves responsible for the dark days which set in with the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175-164). The year B.C. 167 is marked by the insurrection of Mattathias, the aged priest of Modein, a mountain village between Jerusalem and the coast; it issues in the heroic struggle headed in the first instance by his valiant son Judas. There follows a period of Maccabean rule; the Asmonean is succeeded by the Herodian dynasty; all the while Roman influences are making themselves felt. They become predominant. Pompey takes Jerusalem (B.C. 63), and when our period ends Palestine has for years been subjected to the mighty power of Rome. A new religion has begun to attract attention; the birthday of the Christian Church already lies in the past.¹

This last fact notwithstanding we again decide on that isolation of the subject which was aimed at in the preceding chapter.

It was briefly remarked at its close that God had become, as it were, a far-off God. Prophecy had found Him in this world's life; looking for "the manifestation of His righteousness and power in the near future" it expected that manifestation "on the stage of Jewish history, and through the action of forces already operative in human affairs." A tendency had, however, set in towards "a conception of God as no longer abiding in the midst of His people;

¹ For Chronology, *vid. E.B.*, i. 797. The history of the period is delineated, in his masterly way, by Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 187 ff; see also *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, pp. 102 ff. A popularized account of the Maccabean struggle is given by Richmond Seeley in his interesting book entitled *The Hammer*.

as removed, and ever further removed, from contact with the things of earth and from immediate intercourse with men.”¹ Met with in an earlier prophet² the conception deepens as the years roll by, and accounts for the fact that, while the designation “Jehovah” drops out of common usage and is restricted to the Temple-worship, there is resort to circumlocution; men shrink in awe from uttering the ineffable Name; they begin to speak of the Most High,³ the Highest,⁴ Lord of lords,⁵ God of Heaven,⁶ the Holy One,⁷ the High and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity whose name is Holy,⁸ of the God of Gods and the Lord of Kings,⁹ of the King of Heaven;¹⁰ the bare word “heavens”¹¹ is found to suffice.¹² As the gulf widens between a distant God and a people awakened to a sense of sin, a systematized angelology makes its appearance; angels, created but superhuman beings who are actually known by name and classified,¹³ are now conceived of as mediators of intercourse between God and man. With the political horizon extended and with the rise of new ideas more transcendental in their nature¹⁴ the voice of the prophet gradually dies away, while an

¹ Anderson Scott, *Revelation* (Century Bible series), 26, 30.

² Isai. xlv. 15.

³ Pss. ix. 2, lvii. 2, lxxiii. 11; Dan. vii. 22.

⁴ Ps. xviii. 13.

⁵ Ps. cxxxvi. 3.

⁶ Ps. cxxxvi. 26, Dan. ii. 18.

⁷ Prov. xxx. 3, Isai. v. 16.

⁸ Isai. lvii. 15.

⁹ Dan. ii. 47.

¹⁰ Dan. iv. 37.

¹¹ Dan. iv. 26.

¹² Hollman, *Welche Religion hatten die Juden als Jesus auftrat?* pp. 26 f.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁴ Bousset, *Religion des Juden.* p. 230.

age is entered when students of prophecy begin to dream visions and to write them down.¹ An eschatological literature attaches itself to a prophetic literature. Apocalyptic writers had already figured in the period treated of in the preceding chapter. The Apocalypse, the Apocalyptic element, as already indicated, is present in the Old Testament.

Now, the word Apocalypse is derived from the Greek.² Its Latin equivalent,³ in English "revelation," has precisely the same meaning of an uncovering, a laying bare; of the unveiling, the showing, the revealing, of a something hitherto veiled and hidden from the eyes of men;⁴ of the disclosure of some plan or purpose;⁵ of the manifestation of a given person.⁶ In its adjectival form, Apocalyptic, it became in course of time a *terminus technicus*; the designation for a special type of literature which, peculiar to Judaism and rich in growth during the last two centuries before the Christian era, was highly popular.⁷ By common consent the Revelation of St. John the Divine is an Apocalyptic work; so too is, in reality, the Book of Daniel, if less generally viewed as such; other sections of Old Testament books are similar in character,⁸ and so are passages elsewhere found in the New Testament,⁹ which itself contains at least one express citation (with a significant allusion)

¹ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. lxxix.

² Ἀποκάλυψις.

³ *Revelatio*.

⁴ So Rom. viii. 19.

⁵ So Gal. ii. 2.

⁶ So 1 Cor. i. 7.

⁷ Cf. Oesterley, *The Doctrine of the Last Things*, pp. 65 ff.

⁸ Those which were subject of foot-note allusion in the preceding chapter.

⁹ As, e.g. the Synoptic Apocalypse, Mk. xiii. pars., 1 Thess. iv. 15 ff., 2 Pet. iii. 5 ff.

which evidently points outside the Bible Canon.¹ In short, when the respective writings of the New Testament are subjected to critical investigation they reveal points of contact with, dependence on, now one and now another Apocalyptic work, the very existence of which is still unknown to ordinary Bible students. The works are nevertheless to hand; in recent years in a form which renders them available to English readers.²

Before questioning such works *seriatim* on our immediate subject it will be as well to remark on general characteristics of Apocalyptic literature.

The prophet speaks forth his message to the people of his day; the apocalypticist, often a borrower from his predecessors, is rather the man of letters; he writes not merely that his composition may be read in private, but that it may be read out in public hearing. The hopes of the former centre in the main on a restored and glorified Zion upon this earth; the latter is penetrated by more spiritual ideas, he lives not so much on this side of things as in a Beyond; for the old antithesis, *present* and *future*, he substitutes that of *below* and *above*;³ instead of a renovated Holy City his dreams are of a New Jerusalem descending from on high. The visions seen are depicted by him—often with fantastic imagery and bizarre colouring—witness to a mind exercised with great problems; in his attempts to find solutions he speculates on time past, on events to happen when this

¹ Jude 14, 15, 9.

² As, e.g. in Dr. Charles's editions. See also Kautzsch, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. T.*

³ Oesterley, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

world comes to an end. The questions which confront him are, on the one hand, concerned with a belief in God's righteousness; on the other hand, with the actual present condition of God's righteous servants on earth, who, far from enjoying the temporal blessings postulated by the prophets and by the Law, are still His suffering servants, subjected to bondage and persecution. As he looks on at human life he is perplexed with its mysterious contradictions; ungodly men flourish,¹ the righteous perish, and no one lays it to heart.² The sharp conflict between promise and experience is keenly felt by him. Reflecting on the claims of the nation, he goes on to ponder the claims of the individual soul; then he essays to show "that, in respect alike of the nation and of the individual, the righteousness of God would be fully vindicated." In regard to time present the Apocalyptist, unlike the prophet, is a pessimist; his main interests supramundane, he "entertains no hope of arousing his contemporaries to faith and duty by direct and personal appeals." He resorts accordingly to pseudonymous authorship; he approaches his countrymen with a writing which, purporting to be the work of some great hero in their national history, lays claim to be a supernatural revelation. What he offers in his Apocalypse is "a Semitic philosophy of religion"; a sketch in outline, and (so he is persuaded) through divine agency, of "the history of the world and mankind, the origin of evil and its course, and of the final consummation of all things." Prophecy, with him, becomes mere prediction; his intense convictions spend themselves in an infinity of

¹ Ps. lxxiii. 12.² Isai. lvii. 1.

calculation. Strongly dualistic¹ in his conceptions, he elaborates the dogma that this world is entirely evil; under the influence and the dominion of demoniac spirits. Hence—so he argues—this present world must perish. His expectations moving in the supernatural, he dwells on a world to come which, good, divine, eternal, is in sharp contrast with the world that now is. He pictures it as already existent in the heavens, prepared by God before the foundation of the world. His thought is, accordingly, of two ages; a present, and a corrupt, age which is fast drawing to a close; a coming, and a good, age to be speedily brought in by God.²

The features of Apocalyptic literature thus generally outlined, we now turn to an examination of the more important Apocalyptic works. Let us begin with the Apocalyptic element which meets us in the pages of the Old Testament.

It is assuredly present in Ezekiel. Aptly spoken of as “the father of Jewish Eschatology,” he is himself almost the Apocalypticist. Weird scenes rise in his mind’s eye; his imagination peoples his descriptions with marvellous, not to say fantastic, forms (i., ii. 1, 2, iii. 1-3, 12-14, 23, viii. 1-4, x.); putting forth his parable he resorts to the symbolism of two monstrous eagles (xix. 1-8). The hand of the LORD brings him to the land of Israel; wondrous things are told and shown to him by a

¹ Dualism (from the Lat. *dualis*), a system which assumes the antithesis between two repugnant principles.

² *E.B.*, i. 213 f.; Charles, *Book of Enoch* (1st ed.), pp. 22 f.; Bousset, *Religion des Juëen.*, pp. 230 ff.; Schürer, *H.J.P.*, II. ii. p. 133; Oesterley, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.; Hollman, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.

mysterious stranger who is an adept at mensuration (xl., xli. 1-7). His visionary city and its Temple are described with details in abundance which are passing strange. He revels in statistics of both land and sanctuary (xli. 8 ff., xlii., xliii. 10-17, xlv. 1-8, xlviii.).

To say the least, Ezekiel is a forerunner of the Apocalyptic proper. So too, in some degree, is Joel. Yet the earliest Jewish Apocalypse known to us—others, no doubt, had preceded it—is the Book of Daniel.

Not one Daniel only (= God is my Judge) figures in the Old Testament. In addition to David's son by Abigail¹ and a priest of the days of Ezra,² there is a personage of high renown who, placed in Ezekiel's allusions between Noah and Job, belonged perhaps to ancient times,³ and it is on this Daniel that conjecture has fastened as at once hero and author of the Book of Daniel. But the conjecture must be set aside; the Book, itself testifying to its very late date, must be assigned to the Maccabean period, to the stormy days of Antiochus Epiphanes and of the patriot rising led by Mattathias' famous son.⁴ Of unknown but brilliant authorship it originated in zealot circles. Its purpose exhortation and consolation, it responded to a need and was widely circulated. Promising speedy relaxation of the awful strain, it urged faithfulness unto death.⁵

¹ 1 Chron. iii. 1, but cf. 2 Sam. iii. 3, where the name reads Chileab.

² Ezra viii. 2, Neh. x. 7.

³ Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, xxviii. 3.

⁴ Possibly Judas Maccabaeus is referred to, Ps. lxxx. 17. But cf. Witton Davies, *The Psalms*, *in loc.*

⁵ Cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

Its stories based on traditions of certain noble youths in exile, it showed how great a thing is virtue and exemplified a steadfast trust. Springing from the deepest necessities of the noblest impulses of the age, it rendered to its age the purest service.¹

The Book of Daniel,² then, is a *pseudepigraph*. It consists of two nearly equal parts; in the first six chapters its unknown author professes to record the experiences of a group of Jewish exiles; as for the remaining six, they are filled with what purport to be visions seen by and interpreted to the Daniel in whose name he writes.³ Its characteristically Apocalyptic features are not far to seek. Earlier writings have been laid under contribution.⁴ Angels and guardian-angels play their parts in the drama, and are known by name.⁵ The author deals in calculations and announces dates.⁶ He designedly veils and disguises the subjects of his allusions—there was need to do so in his dangerous times.⁷ In his historical survey he philosophizes; when he projects himself into the past or dwells on what for him was time present, he is surprisingly distinct, if not always accurate; the distinctness ceases with his anticipations; his speculations continually centre on the

¹ Ewald, quoted by Stanley, *Jewish Church*, Lect. xlviii.

² In the Greek Bible (LXX) the Book is amplified by the apocryphal stories of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon and the Song of the Three Children (the *Beredicite*).

³ For further notice of the book, see Bevan, *Book of Daniel*; Bertholet, *Daniel und die griechische Gefahr*.

⁴ Cf. Daniel ix., Ezra ix., Neh. ix.; see Dan. ix. 1.

⁵ Gabriel, Michael.

⁶ ix. 24 ff., x. 13, xii. 7, 11, 12.

⁷ The "little horn" of viii. 9 stands for Antiochus Epiphanes.

close of the age; for him it is evidently an evil age; he expects it to be followed by an age of good. Never does he doubt that, outward appearances notwithstanding, the Most High sways the destinies of men (iv. 17), and will one day establish an everlasting Kingdom (ii. 44). He goes on to proclaim its arrival; with splendid diction he narrates his vision of the Ancient of days seated on a throne and gorgeously attended, of judgment set and mysterious books opened, of one like unto a son of man who comes with the clouds of heaven to receive an everlasting dominion (vii. 7-27). Thoughts rise in his mind of a time of trouble unparalleled as prelude to the end (xii. 1). He brings dead men to life, and awards to them an inheritance of weal or woe (xii. 2).

As yet nothing of this sort has been met with. Prophets have anticipated the End; but, alike in his conceptions and his colouring, this Jewish Apocalypticist of ca. 164 B.C. goes far beyond them. His eschatology moves more freely in supernatural regions; while the scene is still laid on this earth, he imports new elements; nationalistic as his predecessors, he is markedly individualistic in his anticipations. They include, by implication, a Day of the LORD; a Day when the Ancient of days will intervene in Judgment—and it is just here that novel features manifest themselves. There is mention of mysterious and celestial books, which are opened at the Judgment (vii. 10); Judgment, conceived of as of quick and dead, is accordingly preceded by a Resurrection, and ushers in what is plainly the Messianic Kingdom. No single word is said,

however, of a Messianic King.¹ If a figure in human form be pictured, the one "like unto a son of man," who comes with the clouds of heaven into the presence of the Almighty² (vii. 13, 14), is not the personal Messiah, nor even a person at all. The author's meaning is revealed by what has gone before (vii. 3-7). His four "beasts" are symbolic, they stand for the Kingdoms of the world; his human form on the clouds, equally symbolic, must signify another Kingdom. His thought, then, really is of the Jewish nation, the Kingdom of the Saints, the people of the Most High.³ They, God's holy ones, receive everlasting dominion. All rival powers will be destroyed by them (ii. 44). They become lords of the surviving nations (vii. 14).⁴ The ultimate sovereignty, to be fully owned by all, is assigned to God (vii. 27).

We pass from the noble work of one who lives in the firm faith that the Almighty is steering the whole course of history towards the salvation of His people⁵ to two Apocalyptic sections which, already touched on, belong to the canonical literature of the Old Testament.

The passage, Isaï. xxiv.-xxvii. is one. Its Apocalyptic character unmistakable, there is difference of

¹ The section ix. 25 f., with its allusions to "an anointed one, a prince," "an anointed one," is in no way concerned with a Messiah.

² Driver, *Literature of O. T.*, p. 462.

³ Schurer, *op. cit.*, II. ii. 137; Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 251 f.; Pfeleiderer, *op. cit.*, i. 75 f.; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 315 (307 in 2nd ed.).

⁴ *E. B.*, ii. 1353.

⁵ So R. Smend, in his lecture on Jewish Apocalyptic, referred to *E. B.*, i. 1012.

opinion as to whether it be a literary unity. If, by common consent, not of Isaianic authorship, there is disagreement with regard to date;¹ assigned by some² to the days of Alexander the Great, it is placed by others³ in a period later by some decades than the Book of Daniel; in any case there is room for the conjecture that original matter has been amplified by inserted hymns. Whoever the Apocalypticist was—and there may have been more than one—he invests his Day of the LORD (xxiv. 21, xxv. 9, xxvi. 1, xxvii. 1, 12, 13) with new and striking features. Apart from his reference to weird sea-monsters (xxvi. 1), he conceives of it as a Day of fearful judgment, not only on kingdoms and rulers of the earth, but on “the hosts of the high ones on high” (xxiv. 21), on sinful humanity and rebel principalities and powers in heavenly places.⁴ No room is made for any Messianic King. The Kingdom, ushered in by dread physical convulsions (xxiv. 19), is a Kingdom of the eternal Majesty; He who alone reigns from Mount Zion and Jerusalem is the Lord of Hosts (xxiv. 23, xxvi. 1-4). At a loud trumpet blast those who are scattered abroad among the nations are gathered in (xxvii. 13) to share with dead men called back to life (xxvi. 19) in Messianic blessings. Men assemble at a banquet of good things divinely prepared for them (xxv. 6) upon the holy mountain. Death itself is destroyed. There is an end of sorrow. A people which has

¹ Cf. Budde, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

² Cheyne, Cornill.

³ According to Duhm the date of the main prophecy is ca. B.C. 128.

⁴ In this conception of a supramundane and hostile spirit-world, the Apocalypticist strikes out a new line. Cf. J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 14.

waited for its God is henceforth and for ever glad in His salvation (xxv. 7-9).

So, then, the claims of the individual have attained to recognition. No longer is the question solely of the immortality of the race, the nation ; the idea now finds expression of a recompense of some sort awaiting those whose earthly careers have run their course. The idea is practically absent from the earlier Hebrew literature. With no conception of a future life other than an unconscious shade-existence, the ancients saw in death the end of all things ; at best an eternal sleep (Jer. li. 39, 57), from which perchance an unbodied spirit might awake for momentary transference to the upper world (Job xix. 25-27). Hence their craving after length of days (2 Kings xx. 1-11, Pss. xxvii. 13, xxxix. 13) ; their agonized dread of separation from God (Pss. vi. 5, xxx. 9), consequent on their flight from the land of the living (Ps. lii. 5) to the land of forgetfulness (Ps. lxxxviii. 12). Man returns to his earth (Ps. cxlvi. 4) as the dust to the earth that it was ; if his spirit be imperishable it does but return to God who gave it (Eccles. xii. 7). Intimations of immortality, if really such (Pss. xlix., lxxiii.), are but few and dim and faint ; they speak, it may be, of aspirations, yet scarcely of convictions which have crystallized into belief. At length a day comes when hopes for the future assume definite form in that doctrine of Resurrection which is met with for the first time¹ in the two Apocalyptic writings just instanced. The conceptions are diverse:—in the one

¹To our knowledge. The inference to be drawn from the manner of negation (Eccl. iii. 19) and affirmation (Dan. xii. 2) is that the belief was no novelty at the time.

case (Isai. xxvi. 19) they are more spiritual, in the other (Dan. xii. 2) more mechanical, and as the doctrine becomes the dogma, what was sole prerogative of righteous Israelites is extended to Israelites good and bad alike.¹ The Apocalyptists appear to expect a Resurrection of the body; not a general Resurrection.²

Once more—here for the last time—we go to the Old Testament.

The second section, then, which falls for consideration is found in the Book of Zechariah. The last six chapters of the Book (ix.-xiv.) are certainly of the nature of an appendix; and, prompted by the error of an evangelist,³ an earlier criticism discovered their author in Jeremiah, while later on the first three and the last three chapters were assigned respectively to Isaiah's and Jeremiah's age. To-day all six are generally regarded as of post-exilic origin; yet there is difference of opinion—readily accounted for by singular variations presented by the subject-matter—with respect to unity, order of arrangement, the nearer date.⁴ Whether belonging to the Maccabean period, or (as is more probable), to the third century B.C., the author does not deem himself a prophet. Having much in common with Ezekiel, he is one who already moves on the track of that latter Jewish Apocalyptic

¹ Inferiority in date accordingly attaches to "Daniel."

² *E.B.*, ii. 1354 ff.; Schürer, *op. cit.*, II. ii. p. 131; Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 255 ff.; Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, pp. 307 f.; Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 52 (1st ed.).

³ Mt. xxvii. 9, 10. The citation, mistakenly assigned to "Jeremiah the prophet," occurs Zech. xi. 12, 13.

⁴ *E.B.*, iv. 5393 ff.; Cornill, *op. cit.*, pp. 363 ff.; Budde, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff.

which is heralded—for us—by the Book of Daniel ; his work is obscure and fantastic ; precisely because of the diversity of his announcements, it is not too easy to summarize his eschatological conceptions. Here he describes the entry of the Messianic King (ix. 9) ; there, the King altogether absent from the picture, his thought is simply of a humbled Davidic family in Jerusalem (xii. 7, 8, 10, 12, xiii. 1), as in sore need of purification. He conceives of an external manifestation of the divine glory ; it is the Lord God Himself who sounds the loud trumpet blast (ix. 14), when about to arise to the defence of the “flock of his people” (ix. 15-17). If all heathendom is gathered together against Jerusalem (xii. 2, xiv. 2), at the coming of the Day of the LORD (xiv. 1), the author appears to waver with regard to issues ; in the one place Jerusalem is rescued (xii. 6) ; in the other the heathen take and rifle the city, they play havoc with, but do not utterly destroy, its people (xiv. 2). He closes with a powerful description of a Day of the LORD—a Day which, known to none save God only (xiv. 7), will be catastrophic in its manifestations (xiv. 4)—a Day of the coming of the LORD God with an attendant train of holy ones (xiv. 5). The universal reign of God sets in (xiv. 9). The heathen armies meet with destruction ; their survivors are under penalty to resort to Jerusalem to join in the worship of “the King, the Lord of Hosts” (xiv. 12-17). In the new era the very bells on the horses and the household pots will be inscribed with the motto of a holy nation (xiv. 20 f.).

Two striking features give pause for reflection. In the first place this almost Apocalypst comes forward

with a novel conception of the evidently Messianic King. He who is pictured (ix. 9), if mounted as be seems an exalted personage,¹ is no warrior-monarch; lowly in his mien, he is assuredly of lowly heart; in that he is just there is earnest of a reign in righteousness; salvation attends him, because he has been saved himself.² And again, with the cryptic allusion to sorrow-stricken beholders of one "whom they have pierced" (xii. 10),³ it is natural to ask: who is this "pierced" one, and is the mourning of the mourners that of self-reproach? It might appear at first sight that repentant people deplore the wrong done by them to some innocent victim of their insensate hate. The picture, again, might be of a day of national mourning for some monarch fallen upon the field of battle.⁴ Neither explanation altogether fits the case. The thought being emphatically of families mourning by themselves apart (xii. 12-14), it may be that the pathetic words of an unknown Psalmist (Ps. lxxix. 1-3) are guide to the true answer.⁵ If so, each

¹ Cf. Jud. v. 10. The First Evangelist, ever anxious to turn prophecy to his ends, has converted the parallelism of "an ass and a colt the foal of an ass" into a curious allusion to two animals ridden at the same time (Mt. xxi. 7).

² The marginal reading (for "having salvation") is "saved."

³ Thus in the Hebrew. The LXX reading is: "because they danced in triumph" or "insulted." Cf. Drummond, *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 363.

⁴ The mourning is "as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the Valley of Megiddon" (xii. 11). According to a view which dates from Jerome, the occasion was the death of Josiah, who (2 Kings xxiii. 29) fell at Megiddo, pierced by the arrows (2 Chron. xxxv. 23) of the Egyptian archers. Cf. *E.B.*, ii. 1930.

⁵ Without, of necessity, pointing to the Maccabean period.

household has its own poignant grief; the many families are weeping and wailing for their martyred dead.¹

At this stage we quit the Old Testament for that Jewish Apocalyptic literature which, outside the Canon of Holy Scripture, is comparatively unknown to the ordinary reader.

The work which claims precedence is the Book of Enoch.² Originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and first translated into Greek—portions of the Greek version are extant—it belongs, if translated into Ethiopic, to the last two centuries before the Christian era.³ The fragmentary survival of an entire literature which once circulated under the name of him of whom it is recorded that he “walked with God,”⁴ the Book at one time exercised a very great influence. It has stamped its impress on the New Testament; early Christian writers cite it⁵ and regard it⁶ as Scripture; gradually a far less favourable view obtained of it;⁷ asserted to be apocryphal⁸ and deprecated,⁹ a time came when, explicitly condemned, it passed under the ban of the Church. Well-nigh lost to knowledge

¹ According to Clemen (*Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des N.T.*, p. 116) the allusion is certainly to a historical martyr, most probably to the High Priest, Onias III., who was murdered B.C. 170.

² The “Ethiopic” Enoch. The “Slavonic” Enoch will be referred to at a later stage.

³ Ca. B.C. 170-64.

⁴ Gen. v. 24. The phrase is not so much suggestive of superhuman privileges as of God-consciousness.

⁵ The author of the *Epistle of Barnabas*.

⁶ Tertullian.

⁷ Origen, not rejecting it, does not regard it as inspired.

⁸ By Jerome.

⁹ By Augustine.

for many centuries it was once more brought to light,¹ and subjected, in particular in recent years, to critical investigation. Agreement is general that it is a composite work. Its writings are attributed to five authors, who—diverse in date, temperament, and conception—have resort, after the manner of the Apocalyptist, to the shelter and the authority of the great name of a traditional hero of ancient times, the patriarch Enoch.² It now and again bears traces of the touch of Christian hands.

Let us proceed to an examination *seriatim* of the five parts of which this composite Book of Enoch consists.

The first part is contained in chaps. i.-xxxvi. The oldest portion of the entire Book—and evidently belonging to a day prior to the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes—it cannot well be later than B.C. 170. Its author, whoever he was, writes from the prophetic standpoint of Isai. lxx., lxxvi. He begins with "the words of the blessing of Enoch"; then, with occasional changes from the first to the third person, he proceeds with an account of "a vision of the Holy One in the heavens" which, shown to Enoch by angels, is intended for remote generations. The "Holy Great One" "will come forth from His dwelling"; He will "tread on Mount Sinai"—in "the strength of His might"—"with ten thousands

¹ In 1773, when two MSS. of the Ethiopic version were discovered by Bruce.

² For the Book of Enoch generally see *E.B.*, i. 220 ff.; Charles, *Book of Enoch*; Schürer, *op. cit.*, II. ii. pp. 141 ff.; Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff.; Baldensperger, *Die Messianisch-Apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judenthums*, pp. 10 ff.; Deane, *Pseudepigrapha*, pp. 49 ff.

of holy ones to execute judgment upon all," to destroy the ungodly, to convict all flesh of all that the sinners and ungodly have wrought and ungodly committed against him.¹ Righteous and sinners are included in the judgment; but, while the latter execrate their days and are bereft of the years of their life, the former enjoy peace and protection—"for the elect there will be light and grace and peace, and they will inherit the earth";—partakers of the fruit of the tree of life "they will complete the full number of the days of their life . . . and the years of their joy will be many, in eternal happiness"; they will "live till they beget a thousand children." In those days "the whole earth will be tilled in righteousness" and be cleansed from all sin and godlessness and uncleanness. "All the children of men shall become righteous," all nations shall offer the worship of praise and adoration to "the great Lord and the King of the world." The deluge is conceived of as the first world-judgment; at the great day of final judgment on Mount Sinai demons, evil spirits, meet with their final doom in a place which is horrible to behold. It is preceded by a Resurrection; till then the spirits of the dead have been assembled in deep and wide places created to serve as their habitation till the "great judgment" comes; with the exception of one class they rise; the wicked, angels and demons and men, are punished according to their deserts, the righteous become members of an eternal Kingdom. Jerusalem will be its centre. God Himself will dwell among men: "this high mountain is His throne, where the Holy and Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will

¹ Cited Jude, 14.

sit when He shall come down to visit the earth with goodness."

The scene, then, of the Messianic Kingdom is laid by the writer on this earth. Importing new conceptions into his picture of an "accursed valley" (Gehenna) in sharp contrast with a "blessed land," he anticipates the ghastly jubilation of a far later writer¹ when, not content to people it with those who are "accursed for ever," he goes on to make their punishment a spectacle for the righteous. To the latter he promises long life and material blessings; no word is, however, said by him as to what will befall them when they die—or die again; he falls short of the idea of an immortality of blessedness. Less explicit than "Daniel," he contemplates a general Resurrection of Israel. Nowhere does the Messianic King figure in his pages. God, enthroned on this earth, reigns in undivided majesty and sovereignty as "Lord of Lords, God of Gods, King of Kings."

Deferring consideration of intervening matter, we pass on next to chs. lxxxiii.-xc. Not only is another pen revealed by them, but the section evidently belongs to a somewhat later date; the lambs who become horned are the Maccabean family; when it is said that "a great horn of one of those sheep branched forth," the symbolic reference is to a still living Judas Maccabaeus. Writing between B.C. 166-161 the author's standpoint in the main is that of "Daniel."

Two visions are narrated—"the one quite unlike the other." The theme of the first (lxxxiii.-lxxxiv.)

¹ Tertullian.

is the world-judgment of the deluge ; " And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which has aroused Thy wrath, but the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a plant of the eternal seed." In the second—it fills the remaining chapters—the author discourses, and with luxuriant symbolism, of the entire history of the world and of final judgment. The End, as conceived of by him, is ushered in by the warlike efforts of zealot bands of warriors, with Judas the deliverer at their head. There will be a great rallying against them by alien armies: "all the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites assembled together, and brought with them all the sheep of the field, and they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram." But the assault is all in vain: "I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took the staff of His wrath into His hand . . . and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven . . . sank in the earth and it closed over them." God seats Himself on a throne "erected in the pleasant land," "sealed books" are opened before Him, Judgment begins and fates are determined, apostates are cast into Gehenna, evil angels ("the stars") into "an abyss . . . full of pillars of fire." An "old house" is "folded up" by "the Lord of the sheep"; a "new house great and loftier than that first" is brought in and set up by Him; He himself is "within it." The surviving heathen, converted, become Israel's vassals: "all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts of the earth, and all the birds of the heaven" are seen "falling down and doing homage to those sheep (*i.e.* Israel) and making petition to and obeying them in every

word." A Resurrection takes place—it would appear of the righteous only; the "new house" becomes too strait for the number of transformed members of a Kingdom which, established on earth, is to last for ever. Judgment and Resurrection over, "a white bull is born, with large horns," "all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time." And so the strange drama closes: "This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and gave Him glory."

The Apocalyptist, knowing and using "Daniel," is like "Daniel" in his conception of everlasting blessedness; unlike him in his apparent limitation of the Resurrection. With more spiritual conceptions he often differs from the author of the section last discussed; the tree of life has disappeared, no word is said of any throne set up in Palestine or on Sinai. The scene still laid by him on this earth, he points with his "new house," not to the earthly but purified Jerusalem of earlier hopes, but to a New Jerusalem which, "brought and set up" by God, comes down to earth from heaven. The final judgment precedes the Kingdom. The figure of the Messiah, altogether absent from chs. i.-xxxvi., makes its appearance in the symbolic "white bull"; it is a purely human figure; the Messiah conceived of, while of owned superiority, is but a man among fellow-men. The curious thing is that he, the Messiah, is an otiose personage. He appears when the Judgment is over. No part whatever is assigned to him in what is evidently an everlasting Kingdom.

With chs. xci.-civ. we arrive at another division of

the Book of Enoch. It is dated towards the close of the second century B.C. or even later (B.C. 134-94 or possibly 104-94).¹ As for the author, he was a Pharisee; sharply opposed to the Sadducees and hostile to every tendency which manifested foreign influences.

Here the Enoch of the Apocalypstist calls his sons together: "And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers and gather together to me all the sons of thy mother; for the word calls me and the spirit is poured out upon me that I should show you everything that will befall you for ever." He then recounts what he has seen in visions and read on heavenly tables concerning the ten weeks of the world, of which seven belong to time past and three to time future. The first week is concerned with Enoch himself; the next three with Noah, Abraham "the plant of righteous judgment," Moses and the giving of "a law for all future generations"; the fifth week brings the building of "the house of glory and dominion" (*i.e.* the Temple); the sixth follows with the burning of "the house of dominion," the dispersal (at the Babylonian Captivity) of "the whole race of the elect root"; the seventh week stands for the period which reaches from the Captivity to the author's own times. The eighth week is a week "of righteousness"; the Messianic Kingdom is set up by the righteous, who, aided by God, do justice on their foes. The ninth week comes, and with it a revelation of the righteous judgment to the whole world. Then, "in the tenth week in the seventh part," there will be

¹ "Between the years 104 and 95, or 95-79, or 70-64 B.C." (Charles, *Book of Enoch* (new ed.), p. 222).

"the great eternal judgment, in which he (God) will execute vengeance amongst the angels. And the first heaven will depart and pass away, and a new heaven will appear, and all the powers of the heavens will shine sevenfold for ever. And after that there will be many weeks without number for ever in goodness and righteousness, and sin will no more be mentioned for ever." Goodness and joy and glory are prepared for the righteous, "written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness"; their spirits will not perish but "live and rejoice and be glad," their memorial will be before the face of the Great One unto all generations. A great woe awaits sinners who die in their sins; into darkness and chains and a burning fire will their spirits enter, grievous will be their condemnation.

The Apocalyptist makes no room for a Messiah. His Messianic Kingdom, far from being established for ever, ends at the final Judgment; it has evidently ceased to be the primary object of his hopes. He knows nothing of a bodily Resurrection. If good things are enjoyed by those actually living when the temporary Messianic Kingdom comes, better things are reserved for the righteous dead. Their "long sleep" slept under the guardianship of holy angels, they rise, not with their bodies, to be partakers of eternal bliss.

Let us turn back to the section which contains (chs. xxxvii-lxx.) the Similitudes. Allowance being made for numerous interpolations¹ it comes, but this is doubtful, from a single hand. Inasmuch as

¹ In this section, as elsewhere in Enoch, editorial use has been made of a lost Apocalypse, the Book of Noah.

Maccabean princes figure as oppressors, while the day of Roman interference in Jewish politics has not yet come, the date of the Similitudes lies within the first three decades of the first century B.C.

"The vision which he saw, the second vision of wisdom—which Enoch the son of Jared, the son of Mahalalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam saw." According to the Apocalypticist, Enoch has received the two-fold gift of wisdom and eternal life from the "Lord of Spirits"; three Similitudes are imparted to him, then he lifts up his voice and recounts them to the dwellers on the earth. The stage is crowded with angelic beings. Sin is traced to its origin in the Satans, adversaries of man; they seduce the Watchers; these in their turn lead man astray; cast into "the abyss of complete condemnation" they await the judgment. Wickedness becomes rampant in the world; sinners ("it had been good for them if they had not been born") deny "the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed"; "His children and His elect" suffer dire oppression, at the hands of "the Kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth." The prayers of the righteous—in which angels join—ascend up to and are heard in heaven. God Himself appears and with Him the "Righteous One" who is also "the Son of Man": "I saw One who had a head of days, and His head was white like wool, and with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man and his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence

he was, and why he went with the Head of Days," Judgment follows upon all—bad and good, men and angels—at a Resurrection: "in those days will the earth also give back those who are treasured up within it, and Sheol also will give back that which it has received, and hell will give back that which it owes." The judge is appointed by God: "the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits" "will judge the secret things and no one will be able to utter a lying word before him"; "Mine Elect One will sit on the throne of glory and make choice amongst their (men's) deeds"; exalted to it by "the Lord of Spirits" "he will judge all the works of the holy in the heaven, and weigh their deeds in the balance"; "the sum of judgment was committed unto him, the Son of Man." "The books of the living" are opened and verdicts are pronounced; "the hosts of Azazel" are cast into a burning furnace, "as straw in fire and as lead in water" the oppressors "will burn before the face of the holy, and sink before the face of the righteous, and no trace of them will any more be found"; sinners and godless will be driven "from the presence of the righteous and the elect," slain by the Elect One "with the word of his mouth." "Unrighteousness will disappear as a shadow (from the earth), and have no continuance." "And on that day I will cause Mine Elect One to dwell among" "Mine elect ones and those who have called upon My glorious name." "I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light. And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing and cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it." They shall be "satisfied with peace," "their mansions will be

innumerable," in the "light of eternal life" there will be no end to the number of their days, "they will all become angels in heaven," they shall "seek in heaven the secrets of righteousness and the heritage of faith." "With that Son of Man they will eat and lie down and rise up for ever and ever."

The third and last Similitude ended, it is said of Enoch: "it came to pass that his name (*i.e.* Enoch himself) was carried aloft during his lifetime to the Son of Man¹ and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth."

Whoever the Apocalypticist was, he might stand for a Jewish prototype of Dante.² Taking his idea of the transformation of the world from Isai. lxv. 17, lxvi. 2, he anticipates a new heaven and a new earth. His Messianic Kingdom is to endure for ever; the portion of those who belong to it, conceived of as angels, is eternal life. Like "Daniel," he expects a Resurrection—if of more than the "many" of Dan. xii. 2, it is apparently restricted to the Jewish nation. That he has borrowed largely from "Daniel" is obvious; he tells of "opened books," of judgment set; his "Head of Days" with head "white like

¹ In ch. lxxi. (which, "alien alike in thought and phraseology to the Similitudes," is a later addition) Enoch himself is thus greeted by the Head of Days: "thou art the son of man who art born unto righteousness." It may be that, in the writer's view, the patriarch was an Incarnation of the Son of Man, the Messiah (see Baldensperger, *op. cit.*, p. 18). But in ch. lx. (an interpolation, probably drawn from a Noah-Apocalypse) the phrase occurs ("thou son of man, thou dost seek here to know what was hidden," etc.) in exactly the same sense as with Ezekiel, and the significance is perhaps identical in ch. lxxi. But cf. Charles, *op. cit.* (new ed.), p. 142.

² Cf. Baldensperger, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

wool" is none other than "the Ancient of days," the hair of whose head was "like the pure wool"; the "thousand thousands" and "ten thousand times ten thousand" are exactly reproduced. But while "Daniel" has dwelt on a Kingdom, the Messianic Kingdom, to be possessed for ever and ever by "the saints of the Most High," the Apocalyptist of the Similitudes assigns universal dominion to One seated on the throne of his glory, which appears to be identical with the throne of God. The former knows nothing whatever of a Messiah; with the latter Messiah is conspicuously to the front. He, that great figure of the Similitudes, is sublimely designated: he is the Anointed One, the Righteous One, the Elect One, the Son of Man. The position assigned to him is unique. In respect to his personality, he is more than mere man and more than mere angel. He comes very near to equality with God.

The Messiah of the Similitudes is, then, no mere lay-figure of convention, but a commanding, an exalted personage. Significant titles are assigned to him; here for the first time in Jewish literature. Let us pause for a moment on the one last instanced.

"The Son of Man." For the phrase itself the Apocalyptist, it is natural to conjecture,¹ is dependent on the Book of Daniel.² If so, his dependence clearly goes no further; for, as we have seen already, the Danielic "one like unto a son of man" is not a person at all, the allusion is to a Kingdom essentially

¹ But cf. Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 251 ff.

² Daniel vii. 13.

differing from those which have preceded it,¹ a Kingdom of "the saints." Adopting the Danielic phrase, "Enoch" altogether changes its significance; "the Son of Man" who looms large on his canvas is unquestionably a real person, and not, as in "Daniel," a metaphor. He, that "Son of Man," is a singularly mysterious personage. Of surpassing righteousness, he is the Chosen One of the "Lord of Spirits." Named in the presence of the Head of Days, he, seated on the throne of his glory, inspires terror in those who behold him; the hopes of the mighty are set upon him; he receives the homage of the nations; prayer is made to him; he is apparently worshipped as divine; all-glorious with a glory which is to endure for ever, he has enjoyed that glory in the past. As the Elect One, his dwelling-place is "under the wings of the Lord of Spirits." His name has been named "before the sun and the signs² were created, before the stars of the heaven were made." Destined to be "the light of the Gentiles and the hope of those who are troubled of heart," he has "been chosen and hidden before (the Lord of Spirits) before the creation of the world": "The Son of Man was hidden before Him, and the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might and revealed him to the elect." The Most High exalts him and enthrones him, commits all judgment to him, gives him a dominion. The

¹ "The human form, as opposed to the bestial, teaches that the last Kingdom will not be, like the Gentile kingdoms, a supremacy of brute force, but a supremacy essentially spiritual" (Bevan, *Book of Daniel*, p. 119).

² Of the Zodiac.

supreme worship is, accordingly, reserved to the Most High. Those who "fall down and bow the knee before" this Son of Man "bless and laud and celebrate with song," not him, but "the Lord of Spirits."

No such figure has hitherto been met with. The features are not those of the purely human Davidic King; for with "Enoch" the Messiah is not a man at all. Pre-existence is distinctly attributed to him. No mere angel, he is nevertheless a superhuman being. Glorious—but with a glory which is not his own glory. Exalted, and yet subordinate. God-like. With God from all eternity. Thus far, but no further, the Apocalyptist. His glorious, pre-existent, superhuman Son of Man is nowhere identified with "the Lord of Spirits," "the Most High."¹ He nevertheless conceives of him as invested with universal dominion in the Messianic kingdom.

With nothing that need detain us in another section² of this composite Book of Enoch, we now turn to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.³

It was in A.D. 1252 that "Master John of Basingstoke, Archdeacon of Leicester, a man equally well experienced in the threefold and in the fourfold course of study, and completely educated in Greek and Latin literature, went the way of all flesh. This Master John had informed Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, that, when he was pursuing his studies at Athens, he had seen and

¹ On attempts to eliminate the Son of Man passages as Christian interpolations, *vide* Baldensperger, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

² Chs. lxxii.-lxxxii., *The Book of Celestial Physics*.

³ See Charles, *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; Deane, *op. cit.*, pp. 162 ff.

heard from some learned Greek doctors of certain things unknown to the Latins; amongst which he discovered the Testaments of the twelve patriarchs, the sons of Jacob, which were evidently a portion of the Holy Scriptures, but which had long been concealed through the malice of the Jews in consequence of the manifest prophecies concerning Christ which appear in them. Upon this the said Bishop sent to Greece, and, having obtained possession of them, he translated them from the Greek into the Latin tongue."¹

So runs the story as chronicled by a monk of St. Alban's Abbey, Matthew "the Parisian."² While the credulous allusion to a suppressed document once included in the Canon is, of course, destitute of foundation, the tale is thus far true to fact that a work which, at one time popular,³ had disappeared for centuries, was recovered for this country—and translated into Latin with the aid of a clerk of St. Albans—by Robert Grossetete, the illustrious Bishop of Lincoln. Until recent years a sealed book, its importance is now realized, and it is highly prized; although no one supposes for a moment that it records, as it professes to record (and as Grossetete believed), dying words actually spoken by the sons of Jacob. In reality it is a pseudonymous work. Christian interpolations deducted, and allowance

¹ Matthew Paris, *Historia Major*. The citation is from Bohn's edition, ii. p. 48.

² Born, or educated, in Paris.

³ Traces of its influence are frequent in the New Testament. It was evidently well known and honoured in the early Church. Origen expressly cites from it.

being made for later Jewish additions, the basal document—about eleven-twelfths of the whole—is attributed to a single author. The date of composition lies between 109 and 106 B.C. Originally composed in Hebrew, the work was subsequently, certainly not later than A.D. 50, translated into Greek.

Let us run through the Testaments, and, having extracted salient passages from each, attempt to seize on leading features of the author's conceptions.

Test. Reuben. For to Levi God gave the sovereignty . . . Therefore I command you to hearken to Levi, because he shall know the law of the Lord, and shall give ordinances for judgment and shall sacrifice for all Israel until the consummation of the times, as the anointed High Priest of whom the Lord spake . . . And draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive a blessing from his mouth. For he shall bless Israel in Judah, because him hath the Lord chosen to be King over all the nation. And bow down before his seed, for on our behalf it will die in wars visible and invisible, and will be among you an eternal King.

Test. Simeon. Then the Mighty One of Israel shall glorify Shem, For the Lord God shall appear on earth, And save the sons of men. Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden under foot, And men shall rule over wicked spirits. Then shall I arise in joy, And will bless the Most High because of His marvellous works. And now, my children, obey Levi and Judah . . . for from them shall arise unto you salvation. For the Lord shall

raise up from Levi as it were a High Priest, and from Judah as it were a King, He shall save all the race of Israel.

Test. Levi. And behold the heavens were opened, and an angel of God said to me: Levi, enter (Levi then proceeds with an account of what he saw in each of the heavens¹ shown to him). And by thee and Judah shall the Lord appear among men... Now, therefore, know that the Lord shall execute judgment upon the sons of men. Because, when the rocks are being rent, the sun quenched, the waters dried up, the fire cowering, all creation troubled, the invisible spirits melting away, and Hades taketh spoil through the visitations of the Most High, men will be unbelieving and persist in their iniquity. On this account with punishment shall they be judged. The Most High hath heard thy prayer, to separate thee from iniquity, and that thou shouldest become to Him a son, and a servant, and a minister of His presence. The light of knowledge shalt thou light up in Jacob, and as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel. And there shall be given to thee a blessing, and to all thy seed, until the Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in His tender mercies for ever... And I saw seven men in white raiment saying unto me: Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of righteousness, and the

¹ By a deliberate redaction of the text an original description of the three heavens—in the third of which God dwells: “in the highest of all (the seventh) dwelleth the Great Glory”—was transformed into a description of the seven. The sevenfold division of the heavens, a detailed account of which is given in the “Slavonic Enoch,” was evidently a part of Paul’s belief (1 Cor. xii. 2). See Jeremias, *The O.T. in the Light of the Ancient East*, i. p. 17.

breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the plate of faith, and the turban of (righteousness?), and the ephod of prophecy... And they said unto me: Levi, thy seed shall be divided into three offices, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come. And the first portion shall be great; yea, greater than it shall none be. The second shall be in the priesthood. And the third shall be called by a new name, because a King shall arise in Judah, and shall establish a new priesthood... And his presence is beloved, as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham, our father... I (*i.e.* Levi) am clear from your ungodliness and transgression, which ye shall commit in the end of the ages... For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem, as is contained in the Book of Enoch the righteous... Then (after that the priesthood has failed) shall the Lord raise up a new priest. There follows a great hymn: To him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed; he shall execute a righteous judgment upon the earth for a multitude of days; his star shall arise in heaven as of a King; he shall be magnified in the world and shine forth as the sun; there shall be peace and gladness on earth; the heavens shall exult in his days. The angels of the divine glory shall be glad in him. There shall none succeed him for all generations for ever. In his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge and enlightened through the grace of the Lord. Sin shall come to an end. He shall open the gates of paradise; he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life; the spirit of holiness shall

be on them. Beliar shall be bound by him. He shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits. The Lord shall be well pleased in His beloved ones for ever. All the saints shall clothe themselves with joy.

Test. Judah. Isaac, the father of my father, blessed me to be King in Israel... And I know that from me shall the Kingdom be established... And now, my children, love Levi, that ye may abide... The Lord chose him rather than thee, to draw near unto Him... but thou shalt be King of Jacob. Then Judah tells of the rising of a star of peace; he shall walk in meekness and righteousness; in him no sin shall be found; the heavens shall be opened to him; he shall pour down the grace of his spirit. There shall be a shining forth of the sceptre of (Judah's) Kingdom; a stem shall arise from its root; from it shall grow up a rod of righteousness unto the Gentiles, to judge and to save all that call upon the Lord. And after these things shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob arise unto life, and I and my brethren shall be chiefs of the tribes; Levi first, I the second, Joseph the third... and so all in order... And ye shall be the people of the Lord... those who have died in grief shall arise... they who are put to death for the Lord's sake shall awake... All the peoples shall glorify the Lord for ever.

Test. Issachar. Levi and Judah were glorified by the Lord, even among the sons of Jacob; for the Lord gave them an inheritance, and to Levi He gave the priesthood, and to Judah the Kingdom... In the last times your sons... forsaking the commandments of the Lord, will cleave unto Beliar... shall

be dispersed among the Gentiles and shall serve their enemies... He is merciful, and will (on their return to the Lord) deliver them, even to bring them back into their land.

Test. Zebulun. In the last days God will send His compassion on the earth, and wheresoever He findeth bowels of mercy He dwelleth in him (?)... After these things the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness, shall arise unto you... ye shall see Him in Jerusalem... But unto the ungodly shall the Lord bring eternal fire, and destroy them throughout all generations.

Test. Dan. Observe, my children, the commandments of the Lord and keep His Law.... that the Lord may dwell among you... speak truth each one with his neighbour... so shall ye be in peace, having the God of peace... Love the Lord through all your life, and one another with a true heart. I know that in the last days ye shall depart from the Lord, and ye shall provoke Levi unto anger and fight against Judah... But ye shall not prevail against them... for by them shall Israel stand... When ye return unto the Lord ye shall obtain mercy.... the saints shall rest in Eden, and in the New Jerusalem will the righteous rejoice, and it shall be unto the glory of God for ever... The Lord shall be in the midst of it and the Holy One of Israel shall reign over it... in the time of the lawlessness of Israel He will (not) depart from them, but will transform them into a nation that doeth His will.

Test. Naphtali. The Lord shall scatter them upon the face of all the earth, until the compassion of the Lord shall come, a man working righteousness and

working mercy unto all them that are afar off, and to them that are near... Charge your children that they be united to Levi and to Judah; for through them shall God appear on earth. To save the race of Israel, and to gather together the righteous from among the Gentiles.

Test. Gad. Do ye also tell these things to your children, that they honour Judah and Levi (Levi and Judah), for through them shall the Lord raise up salvation to Israel.

Test. Asher. Until the Most High shall visit the earth; coming Himself, and breaking the head of the dragon in water. He shall save Israel and all the Gentiles.

Test. Joseph. In the vision of the twelve harts feeding—they symbolize the Twelve Tribes—there is a reiterated command to “observe the commandments of the Lord and honour Levi and Judah,” from whom salvation shall come.

Test. Benjamin. Here there is an allusion to a “blameless one” delivered up for “lawless men,” and a “sinless one” dying for the ungodly. The temple of God is to be the portion of Benjamin. The Twelve Tribes, “and all the Gentiles,” are to be gathered together. “Then shall ye see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, rising on the right hand in gladness... all men shall rise, some to glory and some to shame. And the Lord shall judge Israel first, then all the Gentiles.” Benjamin shall be called “one beloved of the Lord, and a doer of the good pleasure of His mouth.”

What is to be gathered from the pseudonymous

work of a Pharisee of the earlier school who places us in the long and brilliant reign of John Hyrcanus?¹

Clearly, self-admittedly, he is a prolific borrower from his predecessors. Like them painting a great picture of the Messianic Kingdom, he repeatedly conveys an impression that, his own lot cast in the end of the ages in the last days, he himself is eye-witness of its actual manifestation. It is brought in amidst physical convulsions. The Lord God appears on earth among men. The dead are brought to life in what is evidently a general Resurrection; while some rise to glory, others rise to shame. Punishment follows upon the final judgment—the wicked meet with destruction in eternal fire. As for the righteous, they see God in Jerusalem; a New Jerusalem is conceived of as centre of a Kingdom which is to endure for ever; its scene is laid on this earth. The glory of a transformed Jewish nation is a glory in which Gentiles share; object of God's tender mercies, they increase in knowledge and enlightenment by the grace of the Lord; owing their salvation to Israel, "the conduct of the best heathen will form the norm according to which Israel shall be judged" in the great Judgment. Peace and gladness reign on earth, sin is no more, in the days of a Messiah who, sublime in character, is invested with majestic prerogatives and powers. He, the Messiah, is the anointed High Priest; not Priest only he is also King and Prophet. The word "beloved" is used of him. He executes righteous judgment upon the earth; he opens the gates of paradise; the faithful receive from him of the tree of life. No sin is found

¹ *Vide* Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, 272 ff.

in him. His walk is in meekness and righteousness. Beliar is bound by him. Power to tread upon evil spirits is given by him to the saints.

Assuredly this Apocalypticist soars far above his predecessors in his ethical teaching. In sharpest contrast with some of them, his universalism is complete and pronounced ; barriers of nationality vanish when, expecting salvation for the Gentiles, he finds the indwelling God in every individual " whose life is in the right." He brings in the idea of vicarious suffering. Just where he portrays his Messiah, human of descent but with divine functions, entirely unexpected elements are introduced by him. Instead of the traditional anointed King, the Messiah now conceived of is invested with a threefold office. The Davidic monarch disappears, for the Messiahship is transferred from Judah's royal line to the priestly house of Levi.¹

Thus much of the Testaments of The Twelve Patriarchs. We take next a work which, variously named at different stages of its career,² is usually designated The Book of Jubilees.³ At one time dated in the first century of the Christian era, it has since

¹ In the original document. Its author, dazzled with great hopes that Messianic prophecy would be fulfilled under the Asmonaeon dynasty, found his Messiah in John Hyrcanus—" who alone in the history of Judaism possessed the triple offices of prophet, priest, and King " (Charles, *op. cit.*, p. xv). Then, as hopes were dashed, his work received those later additions in which the Messiahship is once more vested in the tribe of Judah.

² Jubilees ; The Little Genesis ; The Apocalypse, or Testament, of Moses ; The Life of Adam.

³ Charles, *Book of Jubilees* ; Deane, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 ff. ; Baldensperger, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.

been relegated to the Maccabean period.¹ Originally composed in Hebrew, the sacred language of Palestine, it is referred to a single author. His identity is unknown; probably he was a priest; he was certainly a Pharisee who, albeit of the strictest sect, was a strong supporter of the Maccabean priesthood. As for his book, "it represents an extreme product of the midrashic process which is apparent on most pages of the Old Testament Chronicler." The latter transforms and idealizes the Books of Samuel and Kings; the former does the same thing with Genesis, for, incorporating it² in his work, he recasts and rewrites it from his own standpoint. Feasts and observances of relatively modern institution are boldly transferred by him to the days of the patriarchs; events are freely handled by him, now he alters and now he omits. He draws liberally on other Old Testament Scriptures, on non-canonical Jewish literature, on his own large store of myth, legend, and tradition. With his family resemblance to the Chronicler he is scarcely original in his methods, while the work produced by him is curious in its form and matter. It purports to be a history of the world from the creation to the recorded legislation on Mount Sinai.³ Breaking up the history into Jubilee periods of forty-nine years each, it affirms that this jubilee-reckoning was a celestial system divinely

¹ Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Charles, at one time favouring the later date (*E.B.*, i. 230 ff.) now assigns the Book to the period prior to the year of Hyrcanus' breach with the Pharisees, but not earlier than 135 B.C. (See *op. cit.*, Preface).

² And Exodus.

³ According to the author, the Law, of eternal validity, had been observed already in heaven by the angels.

revealed to Moses: "God taught him the earlier and the later division of all the days," "I have ordained for thee the year-weeks, and the years and the jubilees." The revelation, we are told, was written down for Moses by an angel-hand: "And He said to the angel of the presence: Write for Moses And the angel of the presence took the table of the divisions of the years—from the time of the creation—of the law and of the testimony of the weeks, of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees."

We see, then, how this strange work came to be called *The Book of Jubilees*. In large part it is destitute of immediate interest. To single out passages which are evidently to the point.

Israel will go astray. God will hide His face from them; removed from the midst of their own land they shall be scattered amongst the Gentiles. Thence, when with all their heart they turn to God, they shall be gathered in by God Who will "disclose to them abounding peace with righteousness": "I shall build My sanctuary in their midst, and I shall dwell with them, and I shall be their God, and they will be My people in truth and righteousness"; "I shall create in them a holy spirit, and I shall cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity"; "I shall be their Father and they shall be My children." God will descend and dwell among them throughout eternity. "And the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all will know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy." "The heavens

and the earth shall be renewed, and all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing and for peace, and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day and unto all the days of the earth" (i). God has separated unto Himself a people from amongst all the peoples: "I have chosen the seed of Jacob from amongst all that I have seen, and have written him down as My first-born, and have sanctified him unto Myself for ever and ever" (ii.). There is a significant allusion to Enoch: "What was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep, as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment." It is said of God: "The Lord has four places on the earth, the Garden of Eden, and the Mount of the East, and this mountain on which thou art this day, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion"; the latter "will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth; through it will the earth be sanctified from all (its) guilt and its uncleanness throughout the generations of the world." With a reference to the duration of Adam's lifetime: "he lacked seventy years of one thousand years," the remark follows: "for one thousand years are as one day in the testimony of the heavens" (iv.). The wrath of God is on "the angels whom He had sent upon the earth," the divine order goes forth: "bind them in the depths of the earth"; sinful man is "bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment is

executed on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord." God makes "for all His works a new and righteous nature"; "the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tables in righteousness"; "there is nothing in heaven or on earth, or in light or in darkness, or in Sheol, or in the depth, or in the place of darkness (which is not judged); and all their judgments are written and engraved" (v.). A sentence is pronounced: "into Sheol will they go, And into the place of condemnation will they descend, And into the darkness of the deep will they all be removed by a violent death" (vii.). Again the author dwells on a day of judgment—"on which the Lord God shall judge them with a sword and with fire, for all the unclean wickedness of their errors" (viii.). A decree is executed on evil spirits; nine parts of them are bound in the place of condemnation, a tenth part are "left that they might be subject before Satan on the earth" (x). The prayer of Abraham meets with the divine answer: "in thee will all families of the earth be blessed" (xii.); he is told by angels that "from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy seed . . . the portion of the Most High . . . a people for (His) possession above all nations . . . a Kingdom and priests and a holy nation" (xvi.); he himself speaks words of blessing ere he sleeps the sleep of eternity and is gathered to his fathers. Sin shall increase upon the earth; fewer shall be the years of man's life; "all the generations which will arise from this time until the day of the great judgment will grow old quickly"; destruction shall come upon the earth, calamity, tribulation, and woe. With a return to "the path of righteousness,"

a brighter period dawns; human life is prolonged to a thousand years, the decrepitude of old age is unknown: "all their days they will complete, and live in peace and in joy"; in those "days of blessing and healing" there will be no Satan, no evil destroyer. For then "the Lord will heal His servants"; they will "rise up and see great peace, and drive out their adversaries." Great shall be the rejoicing, the thankfulness, of the righteous; "their bones will rest in the earth" but "their spirits will have much joy" for ever and ever (xxiii.). As for those who transgress and work uncleanness, "they will be recorded on the heavenly tables as adversaries," "destroyed out of the book of life," "recorded in the book of those who will be destroyed" (xxx.). Isaac sees the two sons of Jacob, Levi and Judah, and he blesses them: the sons of Levi "will be princes and judges, and chiefs of all the seed of the sons of Jacob," he, Levi, is to be "joined unto the Lord." Jacob then turns to Judah: "a prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over the sons of Jacob"; the Gentiles shall fear before thy face; "help of Jacob" and "salvation of Israel" "when thou sittest on the throne of the honour of thy righteousness, there will be great peace for all the seed of the sons of the beloved," he that blesseth thee shall be blessed, all that hate and afflict and curse thee shall be rooted out (xxi.). At Bethel Levi dreams "that they had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever"; in the vision of the night an angel appears to Jacob and gives him seven heavenly tables inscribed with all that should befall him and his sons through all the ages (xxxii.). Again God speaks to Moses:

"there are forty-nine jubilees from the days of Adam unto this day, and one week and two years: and there are yet forty years to come for learning the commandments of the Lord." The jubilees will pass by, until Israel, cleansed from all sin, dwells with confidence in the land. No longer shall there be "a Satan or any evil one." "The land will be clean from that time for evermore." Some enactments regarding the Sabbath follow, and then the Book of Jubilees ends: "Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days."¹

The author finds much to say about angels and demons. From first to last he is nationalistic in his hopes; Israel was, and is, and is to be, pre-eminently the child of God. He expects an ingathering of the dispersed of Israel. He writes as if the day were not far off when God would descend to dwell among His children and establish it to all that He, and He alone, is King on Mount Zion. He makes room for non-Jewish nations. His thoughts reach forward to a time of blessedness; apparently it is preceded by a time of awful tribulation. The dark days ended, there sets in a period of spiritual and physical renovation; not, it would seem, instantaneously, but rather by a gradual progress; the restraint of the powers of evil is followed by their abolition; as God creates in His people a holy spirit and sanctifies Jerusalem it becomes a holy city; peace shall be upon Israel; human life is prolonged, but there is no old age in its prolongation; meanwhile sinners and evil angels go to the fate appointed them by the wrath of God. By implication the names of the

¹ Cf. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 150, *Note*.

righteous are recorded in "the book of life." With the explicit denial of any Resurrection of the body, it is said of the spirits of the righteous that joy and knowledge are to be their lot. They, too, await what is evidently the final consummation; "the day of the great condemnation," of "the great judgment."

There are new elements in the Book of Jubilees. One of them is the hope of immortality unconditioned by a bodily Resurrection. We remark the postponement of the great day of final judgment; with our author it is apparently relegated to the close of that Messianic Kingdom of which, most assuredly, he treats. He believes himself witness of its near approach;¹ are his hopes fixed on a Messianic King? If so, he does not look for him among those who springing from the tribe of Levi, were priest-kings in his day;² he points to the tribe of Judah. But his solitary allusion is vague.³ Another new feature meets us in the fact that his Messiah is an altogether otiose personage in the now temporary Messianic Kingdom of his dream.

We turn from a work which originated in "the golden age of Pharisaism"⁴ to certain poems which bear the name of the wise King of ancient times.

The Psalms of Solomon.⁵ At no time included in the Jewish Canon yet known to early writers, they

¹ "Writing in the palmiest days of the Maccabean dominion." (Charles, *op. cit.*, p. xiv).

² "Priest of the Most High God." The title assumed by the Maccabean rulers. Cf. Gen. xiv. 18-20.

³ Schürer (*op. cit.*, ii. ii., p. 145) finds no mention of a Messianic King.

⁴ Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵ Ryle and James, *The Psalms of Solomon*; *E.B.*, i. 241 ff.; ii. 1363; Deane, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.; Wellhausen, *Die Phariseer und*

are mentioned in several catalogues of Holy Scripture.¹ Not by King Solomon, but pseudonymous compositions, it is uncertain how they came by their designation; while the name Solomon may have belonged to one of those who penned them, it is far more likely that they were attributed to the wisest of monarchs by the piety of a later age. More than one hand is detected in them; the authors of i.-xvi. and xvii.-xviii. are certainly distinct persons, if alike Pharisees of Jerusalem. Judging from its historical colouring, the Psalter of Solomon may be dated between the years B.C. 70 and B.C. 40. The Greek text in which it exists is undoubtedly a translation from a Hebrew original.

Let us listen to what the authors of the Psalms of Solomon have to say.

To one of them there comes "suddenly the alarm of war." He notes a condition of material prosperity; riches may abound, but so does sin. Men "lifted up to the stars," who "wax haughty in their prosperity," say boastfully: "we shall never fall"; greater are their transgressions than those of the heathen (i). It is said of the heathen: "they went up against (God's) altar, they trampled it down"; the reason follows: "Because the sons of Jerusalem defiled the holy things of the Lord, polluted the gifts of God with iniquities"; therefore "her sons and her daughters were in grievous captivity . . . among the Gentiles"; God "turned away His face from showing them mercy"; "the

Sadducæer (Appendix); Schürer, *Palestine in the Life of Our Lord*, iii. p. 17.

¹ They were once contained in Codex Alexandrinus; perhaps in Codex Sinaiticus.

heaven was grieved at them, and the earth abhorred them"; "Thou didst lay bare their sins, to the end that Thy judgments might appear. Thou didst blot out their memorial from off the earth. God is a righteous judge, and respecteth no man's person." There comes a prayer: "Enough, O LORD, let not Thy hand be any more heavy upon Jerusalem, in bringing the Gentiles upon her"; a reply is heard: "I delayed not until God showed me that insolent one lying pierced upon the high places of Egypt . . . his dead body corrupted upon the waves in great contempt: and there was none to bury him¹ . . . he . . . perceived not that it is God who is great," that "He is King over the heavens and judgeth the kings and rulers." "And now behold, ye princes of the earth, the judgment of the Lord, that He is a great and righteous King, judging the whole earth. Bless ye God, ye that fear the Lord with understanding; for the mercy of the Lord is with judgment upon them that fear Him, To separate between the righteous and the sinner, to recompense unto the sinners for ever according to their works. And to show mercy unto the righteous . . . For the LORD is gracious unto them that call upon Him in patience, to deal according to His mercy with them that are His, that they may stand continually in His presence in strength" (ii.). A "new song" is sung which, in its opening verses, depicts characteristic features of righteous men whose confidence is "from God their Saviour"; "the Lord," it is said, "purifieth every man that is holy, and his house." The Psalm then turns from the righteous to

¹ The Psalmist alludes to the murder, in Egypt, of Pompey, after his defeat at Pharsalia.

the wicked : "The sinner stumbleth and curseth his his own life, the days of his birth and his mother's pangs. While he liveth he addeth sin to sin. He falleth ; verily grievous is his fall, and he shall not rise again : the destruction of the sinner is for ever. And *the Lord* shall not have him in remembrance when He visiteth the righteous. This is the portion of sinners for evermore." Far different is the lot of them "that fear the LORD" ; they "shall rise again unto life eternal, and their life shall be in the light of the LORD, and it shall fail no more" (iii.). A vituperation follows ; the Psalmist castigates the "profane one" who in his place in "the assembly" "surpasseth in words, yea in outward show surpasseth all," and is "austere in speech when he condemneth sinners." Fierce imprecations are uttered : "Let God destroy them that live in hypocrisy in the company of the saints" ; "let dishonour be the portion (of the men-pleaser), O LORD, in Thy sight," "let his old age be childless and solitary," "let the flesh of the men-pleasers be torn in pieces by the beasts of the field" "because they provoked God to anger, and vexed Him, that He should cut them off from the earth." Blessing is combined with imprecation : "Blessed are they that fear the LORD in their innocency. . . . Let God destroy them that work all iniquity with insolence, for a great and mighty Judge is the LORD our God in righteousness. Let Thy mercy, O LORD, be upon all them that love Thee" (iv.). A burst of praise rises to the name of One who is "gracious and merciful, a refuge for the needy." "In our distress we will call upon Thee for help, and Thou wilt not turn away our petition, for Thou art our God."

"Kings and nations and rulers dost Thou feed, O God," "Thy mercy, O Lord, is upon all the earth in loving-kindness." "They that fear the LORD rejoice in prosperity, and Thy loving-kindness is upon Israel in Thy Kingdom. Blessed be the glory of the LORD, for He is our King" (v.). Having told of the quietness and confidence of "the man whose heart is fixed to call upon the name of the LORD," and whose prayers are heard (vi.), the Psalmist pleads for a continuance of the divine Presence: "Remove not Thy habitation from us, O God, lest they fall upon us that hate us without a cause"; "Whilst Thy name doth dwell in our midst, we shall find mercy"; "Thou wilt have pity for evermore on the house of Israel." "As for us, we are beneath Thy yoke for evermore"; "Thou wilt establish us in the time appointed, when Thou shalt succour us, and shalt have mercy upon the house of Jacob on the Day wherein Thou didst promise them *help*" (vii.). A note reverberates of "distress and the sound of war," of a "trumpet proclaiming slaughter and destruction," of "a mighty people as of an exceeding mighty wind." The poet's heart quails as a sound is heard "in Jerusalem, the city of the sanctuary"; he considers "the judgments of God from the creation of the heaven and the earth"; a dark picture rises before him of abounding wickedness followed by divine wrath. "For this cause did God mingle for them a spirit of error, He made them drink of the cup of unmixed wine until they were drunken," "He decreed war against Jerusalem and her land." A foreign conqueror¹ is actually met by her misguided princes with joy; they

¹Who appears to be Pompey.

bid him "enter in with peace." God, because of "their blindness," has guided his steps; he pours out "the blood of the dwellers of Jerusalem like the water of uncleanness"; they have polluted "the things that have been dedicated unto the name of God," therefore are they bereft of sons and daughters. His upward gaze directed to the LORD "worthy to be praised that judgeth all the earth in His righteousness," the Psalmist prays for a manifestation of the divine compassion: "gather together the dispersed of Israel with mercy and loving-kindness." "Thou art our God from the beginning." "Upon us and upon our children be Thy good pleasure, O LORD our Saviour, that we be not moved again for ever" (viii.). A brief retrospect, and the Psalmist turns to his own day: "O God, our works are in our choice, yea in the power of our own soul: to do either righteousness or iniquity in the works of our hands. And in Thy righteousness dost Thou visit the sons of men." Thou wilt "cleanse the soul that hath sinned, if it make confession and acknowledgment." "Behold and have pity, O God of Israel." "Let the mercy of the Lord be upon the house of Israel for everlasting and world without end" (ix.). The strain is now jubilant: "the LORD is gracious unto such as patiently abide chastening"; He will "remember His servants in mercy"; "Israel shall praise the name of the LORD in gladness," the saints "give thanks in the assembly of the people," "the congregations of Israel shall glorify the name of the LORD" (x.). There is a triumph-vision: "Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, the holy trumpet of jubilee"; let the proclamation go forth that "God hath had mercy upon Israel,"

Jerusalem is bade to "stand up on high"; to behold her children gathered by the Lord "from the East and West together," coming from "the North" and "from the Islands" in "the gladness of their God." "Put on, O Jerusalem, the garments of thy glory: make ready thine holy apparel, for God had spoken comfortably unto Israel world without end." Thus far expectancy, and then a prayer: "The LORD raise up Israel in the name of His glory" (xi.). Again the theme is "the wicked and evil man"; a note of imprecation: "Let the slanderous tongue perish from among the saints in flaming fire" is followed by one of confidence and joyful expectation: "The Salvation of the LORD be upon Israel His servant for ever," "let the saints of the LORD inherit the promises of the LORD" (xii.). The psalmist contrasts the "overthrow of the sinner" with "the chastening of the righteous"; the former "shall be taken away unto destruction, and the memorial of them shall no more be found"; as for the latter, they are admonished "as a beloved son"; "the Lord will spare His saints, and will blot out their transgressions with His chastening, for the life of the righteous is for ever" (xiii.). As "the garden of the LORD, even the trees of life, so are His saints," "the planting of them is rooted for ever," they shall "inherit life in gladness." Not so with "the sinners and transgressors"; because "they remembered not God" "therefore is their inheritance hell and darkness and destruction" (xiv.); they shall perish in the day of the LORD's judgment for ever, when God visiteth the earth with His judgment to recompense the sinners unto everlasting." As for those "that fear the LORD," mercy shall then

be found by them ; they "shall live in the righteousness of their God" (xv.). The psalmist has known what it is to be "far from God," "hard unto the gates of hell in the company of the sinner"; deliverance has been vouchsafed by his "Saviour and helper"; then his prayer is: "preserve my goings in the remembrance of Thee"; his closing words breathe a strong conviction: "the righteous man, if he continues steadfast, shall therein find mercy of the LORD" (xvi.).

But enough of citation. A glance suffices to show that the psalmist¹ is a prolific borrower; prophets and canonical psalter have been laid under contribution by him. Like his predecessors, he at once veils and discloses the events and the circumstances of his own day. His standpoint is that of one who sees in the attitude of the Sadducees to Jewish hopes and Roman rule an abandonment of all that was highest and holiest in national ideals. Of what, then, does he dream? It is clear that he revels in the thought of vengeance on hostile powers. He looks for a great ingathering of the dispersed of his own Jewish nation. If the future he expects for Israel be, no doubt, one of unexampled prosperity, it is also fraught with a peculiar blessing for contented spirits. The judgment of the righteous God, the just Judge over all the peoples, is announced and awaited by him. Regarding man as arbiter of his own fate, he sends sinners who have made the wrong choice straight from death to destruction in eternal fires. No room is, accordingly, made for the wicked in his theory of a resurrection. It is evidently not a bodily resurrection;

¹ Or psalmists.

the saints live out their span of life on earth and die ; they rise to the enjoyment of blessedness unending, not in any earthly kingdom, but in the divine righteousness. It appears that the psalmist concerned himself but little with a Messianic Kingdom. Apparently he knows nothing whatsoever of a Messiah. God—Helper, Saviour, Avenger, Judge—is alone King.

But two more psalms remain. Another voice speaks in them ; they strike another, and a different, note. The LORD, so chants the writer, is “our King henceforth and even for evermore ;” His Kingdom “unto everlasting over the heathen in judgment.” A divine choice and a divine promise have pointed to David and his seed, to a Davidic Kingdom which should never fail. Sinners have laid waste David’s throne, but they have been cast down by God ; the fury of his anger has overtaken “children of the covenant” who have surpassed the former in their sins, and who, “from their ruler to the vilest of the people,” were “altogether sinful.” The prayer comes : “Behold, O LORD, and raise up unto them their King the son of David, in the time which thou, O God, knowest, that he may reign over Israel Thy servant. And gird him with strength that he may break in pieces them that rule unjustly.” The psalmist anticipates the doings of this Son of David, his qualities and his times ; he shall “thrust out the sinners” and “destroy the ungodly nations with the word of his mouth ;” gathering together a holy people, he shall lead them in righteousness ; a righteous king, he shall himself be taught of God ; in his days there shall be no iniquity in the midst of his people ; Jerusalem shall be holy, even as in the

days of old ; all shall be holy ; "their King is the Lord Messiah,"¹ his King the LORD. "He himself also is pure from sin, so that he may rule a mighty people." "He shall not faint all his days;" the blessing of the Lord is with him; "mighty in his works, and strong in the fear of God," Who can stand up against him? In holiness shall he lead all. "This is the majesty of the King of Israel, which God hath appointed to raise him up over the house of Israel, to instruct him." Blessed indeed shall they be who are born in those days. May God hasten His mercy. As the Psalm begins, so it ends: "The LORD, He is our King from henceforth and even for evermore" (xvii.). Its fellow-psalm is like unto it: "Thy goodness is upon Israel." "Thy love is toward the seed of Abraham." The LORD cleanse Israel for the day when he shall have mercy upon them and shall bless them; even for the day of his appointing when He shall bring back His anointed." "Blessed are they that shall dwell in those days; for they shall see the goodness of the LORD which He shall bring to pass for the generation that cometh, Under the rod of the chastening of the LORD'S anointed in the fear of His God" (xviii.).

It can be said of these two Psalms that they teem with anticipations of the Messianic Kingdom. Its scene evidently laid in Palestine, its capital is a

¹ In the Greek text *χριστὸς κύριος* (cf. Lk. ii. 11). Similarly in the LXX rendering of Lam. iv. 20; there, in any case, a mistranslation, it affords proof of the currency of the expression (cf. Ps. cx. 1). The question is: What stood in the original Hebrew? Schürer (*op. cit.*, ii. ii. p. 143) decides for the rendering *χριστὸς κυρίου*, the Lord's anointed. For a full discussion of the "crux of the whole book," see Ryle and James, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 ff.

Jerusalem which has been purified from sin. Gentiles, converted to the faith of Israel, are tributary to it. The dispersed of Israel brought back to share in its blessings, its members are the saints who survive and remain. No word being said of a Resurrection, there is, accordingly, no definite promise for saints who have lived and died. The Kingdom is brought in, mediately, by divine intervention. It is scarcely a Kingdom which shall have no end.

The reflexion that the Messianic Kingdom of the psalmist, brought in by God, is nevertheless brought in mediately, at once bids us fasten on the personality of the Messiah, the Lord's anointed, who plays so prominent a rôle in the psalmist's conceptions. The Davidic King reappears in him. Assuredly raised up by God, he is divinely invested with his Kingship. Justice tempers his might; wise with the wisdom with which God endows him, his reign is beneficent, a reign of righteousness. No mere warrior-monarch who resorts to human arms, his weapons are evidently spiritual; ungodly nations are destroyed "by the word of his mouth." Himself pure from sin and taught of God, it might be inferred that he not only rules but instructs his people; that it is through his means that they become a holy people. It being said of him that "he shall purge Jerusalem and make it holy," it appears that he exercises the functions of a priest. Unquestionably he is a great personage. As unquestionably he, a vassal-king, never oversteps the limit of the purely human. He is mere man. That he is not immortal is implied by the statement that "he shall not faint all his days." Messiah's days ended, there ends to all appearance the Messianic

Kingdom. Beyond it, above it, is the Kingdom of God: "Thou art our King henceforth and even for evermore."¹

Recognizing its high value as a testimony to the piety of Pharisaic Judaism,² we turn from the Psalter of Solomon to a chaotic medley of poems (in Homeric hexameter verse, yet with small regard to quantities) designated the Sibylline Oracles.³

Perhaps the word Sibylla originally signified a wise woman. Whatever its derivation, the term—a familiar one in ancient mythology—was used of personages held to be acquainted with the divine purposes; distinguished from official priestesses, but accounted inspired by deity, the Sibyll was the semi-divine prophetess of decrees and counsels of the gods. As writings current under the name of Sibylls,⁴ and purporting to contain their authoritative oracles, multiplied and became popular, a literature sprang into existence which, heathen in origin and form, illustrated the ingenuity of Hellenistic Jews and then of Christians, who—equally persuaded that what had been done by heathen Greeks might be

¹ "Dies Davidisches Königtum der Endzeit ist also eine irdische Stellvertretung des Königtums Gottes." J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 9.

² Bousset, *Religion des Judenthums*, p. 15.

³ Hastings' *D.B.*, v. 66 ff.; Schürer, *op. cit.*, ii. iii. pp. 271 ff.; *E.B.*, i. 245 ff.; Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 ff.; Geffken, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina*; Deane, *op. cit.*, pp. 276 ff.; Rzach, *Oracula Sibyllina*. Friedlieb (*Oracula Sibyllina*) offers a rendering of the Oracles in German hexameter verse.

⁴ Several Sibylls are enumerated, the most famous being the Cumaean Sibyll, who conducted Aeneas to the lower world and offered the nine mystic books to Tarquin at an enormous price. Cf. Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 257 ff.

Jerusalem advantage by themselves—sought to dis-
 convey^eate their respective faiths in Gentile circles by
 means of fantastic poems which survive in the Sibyl-
 line Oracles. Of various authorship, diverse in
 religious conception, but alike in their appeal to
 credulity,¹ extending over more than four centuries,
 the Oracles give “an insight into the tenets and
 feelings of Jews and Christians at an epoch the
 most important in the religious history of man.”
 The Christian element largely predominates in them.
 Only a comparatively small portion of their contents
 can be referred with any certainty to pre-Christian
 days.

Let us take a rapid glance at what, by common
 consent, are among the most ancient fragments of the
 chaotic work.²

A Sibyll speaks. Her message opens with an
 allusion to the tower of Babel; having sung of the
 collapse of sovereignties and of the successive rise of
 Kingdoms (of which Rome is the last), she utters her
 predictions; and they turn on the destiny of the
 chosen people, on a divine judgment for the King-
 doms of the world, on woes and calamities about to
 overtake divers towns and countries. Bright are her
 anticipations as she tells of and pictures an era of
 prosperity and peace; they grow darker with her
 oracles against the nations. Exultantly she dwells
 on an Israel obedient to the law of Israel's God;

¹ Celsus (Origen, *contra Cels.*, v. 6) gibes at the Christians of his day
 as believers in Sibylls, Sibyll-mongers.

² They occur in Bk. iii. The first and oldest part—variously dated,
 from B.C. 166 to B.C. 124—is iii. 97-829. The later section iii. 1-62
 may have been written before B.C. 32.

quickly, reiterating her threats, he foretells doom of all sinful world which has set at naught the divine law. It will be involved in ruin, visited with plague and famine and dire tribulations by the immortal God; she exhorts mortal man to repent, to seek and obtain mercy from the one and only God. She makes a proclamation; a mighty King, she predicts, will be sent from the rising of the sun by God Himself, he will make wars to cease, on some he will execute judgment, to others he will fulfil the divine promises, he will not walk after the counsels of his own heart, but be in all things mindful of the divine will, great glory shall then be for the people of the mighty God, both land and sea will teem with all good things, God's children—His Temple in their midst—will abide in peace, they will rejoice in all the blessings bestowed on them by the Creator, the peoples will own them the peculiar object of the love of God. Another note is struck when, ceasing to make mention of any heaven-sent King, she goes on to announce that He, God Himself, will set up an everlasting Kingdom, and that men will flock with their offerings to His dwelling-place from every quarter of the earth. Once more she enlarges on weird signs and startling portents which, plainly to be seen and easily discerned by men, will usher in the end of all things, final judgment. Then, about to close, she declares her identity.¹ God's great prophetess that she is, she has revealed His purposes.

In a later fragment the Sibyll sings of a Kingdom of the immortal King about to appear among men.

¹ Professing herself a daughter of Noah and to have been with Noah in the ark, she claims to have come from Babylon.

JA holy Lord¹ will come; world-wide will be his dominion, his reign will endure through the ages. This last prediction is, however, qualified by another which, following closely upon it, speaks of a coming universal judgment: alas, that day, the judgment day of Him who is immortal God and mighty King.

The Messianic significance of these oracles is not far to seek. Borrowers from their predecessors, those who make a Sibyll their mouth-piece revel in detailed descriptions of signs of the End. They expect a great Day of the Lord which will be a day of judgment, they look for the establishment of a universal Kingdom on this earth, unquestionably they see in Jerusalem its destined theocratic centre, they anticipate all good things for those fully obedient to the divine law. They are convinced that the ascendancy will remain with Israel; assured that the law of God will be owned by all the nations, they see, perhaps, in Israel the means whereby the world will be converted to the true religion. Apparently they part company in regard to the Messianic King. According to one oracle no heaven-sent ruler is looked for; the thought centres exclusively on an everlasting Kingdom to be set up by God alone. Elsewhere the portrait met with is of one who, now a holy Lord and now a God-sent King, is invested with great prerogatives and with world-wide sway. Whether he is to reign for ever, whether his reign is terminated at a day of final judgment, is uncertain. Mighty in his rule of righteousness, he is plainly subordinated to God.

¹ ἅγιος ἄναξ.

We pass to the Assumption of Moses.¹ In all probability it was a composite work which "consisted of two originally distinct books, of which the first was really the Testament of Moses and the second the Assumption." It was written in Hebrew; it was quickly translated into Greek;² then, not later than the fifth century, there appeared a Latin version which, until recent years, was unknown to the modern world. Composed in the opening decades of the Christian era (between 7 and 29 A.D.) it purports to relate the course of history from the age of Moses to the author's own times. He, the author, belonged to the number of "the quiet in the land;" men whose sole ambition was to keep themselves unspotted from the world and to do the will of God. His voice is raised in protest "against the growing secularisation of the Pharisaic party through its fusion with political ideals and popular Messianic beliefs."³

Let us note what Moses—who in our work supersedes Enoch as organ and representative of Apocalyptic revelation—is made to say by this Pharisaic Quietist.

He, Moses, calls Joshua to him: he bids him be of good courage. He goes on to say of "the Lord of the world:" "For He hath created the world on behalf of His people;" He "prepared me (Moses) before the foundation of the world that I should be

¹ Charles, *The Assumption of Moses*; Baldensperger, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff. Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Deane, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 ff.

² The Greek version only survives in fragments.

³ He is not a Zealot, neither (in view of its early date) can his work be the "secret polemic against Christianity" of Briggs' (*The Messiah of the Apostles*) allusion.

the mediator of His covenant." In the prospect of his impending death—"even in the presence of all the people"—he gives Joshua written instructions with regard to certain books to be laid up in the place made by God "from the beginning of the creation of the world," viz. on Mount Zion; he adds: "That His name should be called upon until the day of repentance in the visitation wherewith the Lord shall visit them in the consummation of the end of the days" (i). Israel's history is then summarized; the course of events being described through successive periods, and brought down to the author's own times. An "insolent King" (Herod the Great) is but lately dead, his children bear rule for shorter periods, a powerful King of the West (Varus) arrives as conqueror, some are taken captive and others are crucified, a part of the Temple is burnt with fire (ii-vi.). "And when this is done," says Moses, "the times will be ended . . . the four hours will come." He tells of scornful and impious rulers—probably contemporaries of the author (vii.); an account is given by him of what appears to be the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes (viii. ix.).¹ A hymn follows; in its opening stanzas (1, 2) it presages the appearance of God's Kingdom throughout all His creation, Satan is to be no more and sorrow will depart with him, the angel as appointed chief will forthwith execute vengeance on all Israel's foes. The next stanzas (3-10) foretell that the heavenly One will rise from His throne and go forth from His holy habitation, His wrath burning

¹ According to Charles's conjecture the "man of the tribe of Levi whose name will be Taxo" was some contemporary of Judas Macabaeus.

on account of His sons. The earth will tremble, the sun will be turned into darkness and the moon into blood, the circle of the stars will be disturbed, the fountain of waters fail. "For the Most High will arise, the eternal God alone;" He will punish the Gentiles and destroy their idols. Israel, then happy, will mount on the necks of the eagle;¹ "God will exalt thee, And He will cause thee to approach to the heaven of the stars, And He will establish thy habitation among them." Israel, looking down from on high, will rejoice at the plight of their foes: "thou wilt give thanks and confess thy Creator." Then Moses informs Joshua as to the period which must elapse before God appears in judgment: "for from my death . . . until His advent there will be CCL. times;" Joshua, comforted by Moses, asks him of the place of his sepulchre² and concerning the fortunes of the people; again Moses speaks: God is the creator of Gentile as well as Jew. All things have been foreseen and ordered by Him. Not because of Israel's godliness but because of the divine purpose shall the nations be rooted out. Increase, prosperity, await those who fulfil the divine commands; sinners who set them at nought will be without those blessings, punished with many torments by the nations.

What special features are presented by a work which has left many traces in the writings of the New Testament?³

¹ Cf. the vision of the eagle 2 Esdras xi., xii.

² "All the world is thy sepulchre."

³ Jude 9 is borrowed from the original work. It was probably known to the writers of 2 Peter and Matt. xxiv. 29 (cf. Mk. xiii. 24, 25; Lk. xxi. 25, 26). There are some remarkable parallels between it and the

The author not only anticipates the Messianic Kingdom, he specifies a date for its appearance.¹ A day of repentance precedes it; then God will intervene on behalf of a people for whom the world was created by Him. From the express allusion to Israel² it is evident that a restoration of the ten tribes is looked for with the establishment of a Kingdom which is to bring with it the destruction of Israel's foes. Ushered in by physical convulsions and celestial portents, it is followed by Israel's exaltation to a dwelling-place among the stars of heaven;³ from thence they are to see their enemies in Gehenna. If in one place it is stated that "the angel" (Michael)⁴ will be the divine delegate, leader and avenger, he quickly disappears from view; the dominant thought is of the "Heavenly One," of the "Most High;" His the Kingdom, He alone is King.⁵ Not only does the author make no mention of a Messiah; but, with his emphatic "the Eternal God alone," he apparently repudiates all expectation of a Messiah; in any case he is witness to the fact that pious Jews of his day could look for the advent of God's Kingdom without necessarily looking for a Messianic King. Decidedly nationalistic in his hopes he identifies

tedious speech placed in the mouth of Stephen, Acts vii. With its allusion to Moses as the mediator of the covenant it may have been in Paul's mind, Gal. iii. 18, 19.

¹ The "250 times" stand for 250 periods of seven years each, viz. 1750 years from Moses' death.

² Taken in connection with what is elsewhere said of the two tribes and the ten tribes.

³ To heaven itself.

⁴ Cf. Dan. xii. 1.

⁵ Charles conjectures that the stanzas which point to Michael are of different authorship.

Israel, a righteous Israel, with his Messianic Kingdom.

We take, lastly, The Book of the Secrets of Enoch,¹ the "Slavonic" Enoch of a previous allusion. But recently discovered, and, as far as is yet known, preserved in Slavonic only, it may be dated in the period A.D. 1-50. While the main part of it was composed in Greek there is a Hebrew background which belongs to earlier, pre-Christian, days; the Hebrew originals are actually quoted in The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Its author was a Hellenistic Jew of Egypt.²

Enoch, "a very wise man and a worker of great things," sleeps and dreams a dream. Celestial beings appear to him; he hears them say: "Be of good cheer, Enoch, be not afraid; the everlasting God hath sent us to thee, and lo! to-day thou shalt ascend with us into heaven" (i.). He awakes and speaks to his sons (ii.); then the two angels summon him, they take him on their wings and show him all the wonders of the first heaven (iii-vi.). They bring him into the second heaven; there he sees the darkness, imprisoned angels who await the eternal judgment (vii.). Borne to the third heaven he is shown Paradise; in its midst is the tree of life; three hundred very glorious angels are continually engaged in a service of praise. From the place "prepared for the righteous" as "an eternal inheritance" he is led to the "Northern region," which, fearful to behold, is the "eternal

¹ E.B., i. 255 f.; Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*; Bonwetsch, *Das Slav. Henochbuch*.

² He was probably a contemporary of Philo (Schürer, *op. cit.* ii iii p. 321 ff.), with whom he has much in common.

inheritance" prepared for sinners who "do not honour God" (viii-x.). The fourth heaven entered he learns of the comings and goings of the sun and moon, he sees strange flying creatures, the great gates by which sun and moon go forth, an armed host serving with unceasing voice (xi-xvii.). More strange sights are witnessed in the fifth heaven, innumerable hosts of melancholy and silent beings (xviii.); brought into the sixth heaven he sees seven bands of resplendent angels, they "arrange and study the revolutions of the stars," it is said of some that, "over all souls of men," they "write down all their works and their lives before the face of the Lord" (xix.). He enters the seventh heaven; his two guides having shown him "the Lord from afar seated on His lofty throne," depart, and Gabriel, sent by God, sets him "before the face of the Lord;" he falls down and worships. God Himself speaks: "Be of good cheer, Enoch, be not afraid: rise up and stand before my face for ever;" at the divine command Michael takes from him his "earthly robe," anoints him with the holy oil, and clothes him with the raiment of divine glory; he becomes "like one of His glorious ones," "fear and trembling depart" from him (xx-xxii.). Instructed by a mysterious being (Vretil) during thirty days and thirty nights he writes 366 books (xxiii.); God, speaking with him face to face, reveals to him the things which have been kept secret from the angels; the mysteries of the creation are unfolded, death is said to be appointed on account of man's sin, the divine voice speaks to Adam: "I will not destroy thee, but will send thee whence I took thee" (from Paradise to earth). "Then also I can take thee in

My second coming; And I have blessed all my creation, visible and invisible. And I blessed the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, for in it I rested from all My labours" (xxiv-xxxii.). Then God shows Enoch the duration of this world; an eighth day has been established by him: "Let the eighth be the first after my work, and let the days be after the fashion of seven thousand. Let there be at the beginning of the eighth thousand a time when there is no computation, and no end; neither years, nor months, nor days, nor hours" (xxxiii.). God will bring the Deluge upon workers of iniquity (xxxiv.); one righteous man will be left of Enoch's race (xxxv.); thirty days are allotted to Enoch to instruct his sons on earth, then angels will be sent to fetch him into heaven (xxxvi.). Enoch, brought to earth, admonishes his sons; he tells them of all things that his eyes have seen: "the height from earth to the seventh heaven, and down to the lowest hell," "how the prisoners suffer, awaiting the immeasurable judgment." He, Enoch, continues: "I wrote out all of those who are being judged by the judge, and all the judgment they receive, and all their deeds" (xxxvii-xl.). As he beholds "all our forefathers from the beginning with Adam and Eve" Enoch sighs and weeps (xli.); he tells of "those who keep the keys and are the guardians of the gates of hell," he utters a series of beatitudes (xlii.), he will have it heard everywhere: "there is no one greater than he who fears God" (xliii.). With an allusion to "the day of the great judgment" (xliv.) he insists that what God requires is not sacrifice but "a pure heart": "He who increases his lamp before the Lord, the Lord increases

greatly his treasure in the heavenly Kingdom" (xlv.); "when God shall send a great light, by means of that there will be judgment to the just and unjust, and nothing will be concealed" (xlvi.). Enoch delivers his books to his sons (xlvii.) and orders their distribution, "those who are wise let them fear God" and diligently read them, as for those who reject them "the terrible judgment shall await them": "Blessed is the man who bears their yoke and puts it on, for he shall be set free in the day of the great judgment" (xlviii.). A place has been prepared for every soul of man (xlix.), "no one born on the earth can hide himself, nor can his deeds be concealed": "Now, therefore my children, in patience and meekness accomplish the number of your days, and ye shall inherit the endless life which is to come" (l.), "endure all for the Lord's sake, and so you will receive your reward in the day of judgment" (li.). Beatitudes and curses are combined in pairs (lii.); the idea is repudiated that intercession is made for the living by departed saints (liii.); once more Enoch gives charge concerning the distribution of his books (liv.), then he announces that the hour of his departure is at hand: "In the morning I shall go to the highest heavens to my eternal habitation" (lv.), "since God has anointed me with the oil of his glory there has been no food in me, and my soul remembers nothing of earthly pleasure nor do I desire anything earthly" (lvi.). Having bidden Methusalem summon all his brethren (lvii.), he again speaks to his sons; he tells of a future for the brute creation (lviii., lix.), he announces that there is no forgiveness for ever for him who "does an injury to the soul of man" (lx.). He knows that in

the world to come "there are many mansions prepared for men ; good for the good ; evil for the evil ; many and without number " (lxi.) ; " There is no repentance after death " (lxii.) ; " when a man clothes the naked and feeds the hungry he gets a recompense from God " (lxiii.). A great assembly gathers for the last farewell (lxiv.), and again Enoch speaks : " When all the creation of visible and invisible things comes to an end which the Lord has made ; then every man shall come to the great judgment of the Lord." Time shall be no more : " There shall be one eternity, and all the just who shall escape the great judgment of the Lord shall be gathered together in eternal life," the just shall be eternal. " Moreover there shall be no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, nor anxiety, nor need, nor night, nor darkness, but a great light." " Bright and incorruptible Paradise shall be the eternal habitation " of the just. " All corruptible things shall vanish, and there shall be eternal life " (lxv.). Enoch's children must preserve their souls from all unrighteousness and walk humbly before their God, they shall then be " heirs of eternity ; " " Blessed are the just, who shall escape the great judgment " (lxvi.). A great darkness encompasses Enoch and his hearers ; it is said that " the angels hastened and took Enoch and carried him to the highest heaven where the Lord received him, and set him before his face, and the darkness departed from the earth, and there was light " (lxvii.). In the closing chapter (lxviii.) we meet with the reflexion : " as each man has but a dark existence in this life, so also is his beginning and birth, and departure from this life." ¹

¹ Cf. the pathetic speech in which Edwin's thane expresses his

Such are the contents, in outline, of the strange work. We observe, in passing, that it contains such striking parallels to New Testament passages as to suggest a very close connection, if not actual literary dependence, on the part of the later writers.¹ We dwell in particular on the author's belief in the plurality of the heavens,² his persuasion as to a future existence for the brute creation,³ his express statement that death was the consequence of man's sin,⁴ his allusion to recording angels and to the tree of life, the idea he entertains as to evil present in the very heavens.⁵ A peculiar feature of his work is the conception of a Millennium; the world was created in six days, and on the seventh day God rested; accordingly, as one day is with God as a thousand years,⁶ so the world's history will be accomplished in six thousand years. There follows a thousand years of rest. The Millennium ended, the eighth day will

bewilderment as to the mystery of life. The story is told by Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii.

¹ For a complete list see Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiff. To instance a few only:—with Mt. v. 9, cf. lli. 11, "Blessed is he that establishes peace"; with Mt. v. 34, 35, 37, cf. xlix. 1, "I will not swear by a single oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay"; with Jn. xiv. 2, cf. lxi. 2, "In the world to come. . . there are many mansions prepared for men." The thought that the "just" (lxv. lxvi.) shall "escape the great judgment" is near akin to that of Jn. v. 24.

² Cf. *Test. Levi*, iii.: "Hear then concerning the seven heavens." The same belief was shared by Paul (2 Cor. xii. 2, 3), and probably by the author of the Ep. to the Hebrews (Hebs. iv. 14). Cf. also the phrase, *ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις*, which occurs five times in Ep. Eph.

³ So, perhaps, Paul. Cf. Rom. viii. 19 ff.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 21. Cf. the opening lines of *Paradise Lost*.

⁵ Cf. 1 Ki. xxii. 19-22.

⁶ Ps. xc. 4.

dawn ; it will be an eternal day, the times will be no more, the creation will come to an end. Two divine Comings are conceived of ; God came a first time at the creation, His "Second Coming" will be for the great, the terrible, the immeasurable, the final, judgment. While the doom of sinners is irrevocably fixed at death, the just, the righteous, those of pure heart, escape the judgment ; heirs of eternity, their eternal inheritance is eternal life. The author knows nothing of a resurrection of the body ; his thought is rather of human souls like unto the angels, attired in the garments of glory, set free from carking care and sorrow, oblivious of the things of earth. All his hopes concentrated on a blessed immortality, he practically ignores a Messianic Kingdom. He tacitly rejects conceptions of a Messianic King.

Thus much of the Slavonic Enoch. Last of the specimens of Apocalyptic literature to be examined in detail, it marks our halting point for the time being. Let us attempt to gather up some threads from a survey which, prolonged through many pages,¹ has by no means covered the whole ground.²

¹If only because Apocalyptic literature is an unexplored field for the ordinary reader.

²There is a large remainder of the literature in question, and it includes, *int. al.* :

- i. *The Apocalypse of Baruch* ; a composite work put together, about the close of the first century, from independent writings which are assigned to dates ranging from A.D. 50 to A.D. 90.
- ii. *The Ascension of Isaiah*. This, again, is a composite work, and scarcely earlier than A.D. 50.
- iii. *The Fourth Book of Ezra* (in Apocr., 2nd Esdras). This work, belonging to the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81-96), is contemporaneous with *The Revelation of N.T.*, which is itself

What, let us ask to begin with, is the impression left with us as we rise from the perusal—it may be for the first time—of writings which go near to place us in a dead world?

They are certainly in sharp contrast with the literary remains of an earlier period. Well-nigh gone is the genuine prophetic insight, its practical interest in current events, its alertness to speak and to act as ever finding God in the world of its own day. Religion is indeed a dominating force; yet, overstrained and exaggerated, it lacks in sobriety; it has assumed the form and garb of an unhealthy piety. There is an aloofness from the life that now is; a marked tendency to "other-worldliness." Where once there was the prophet there is now the predicter; he resorts to all manner of divination; he wanders in a labyrinth of speculation as, professing to reveal secrets and to disclose mysteries, he offers fanciful interpretations of time past and time present, and gives free rein to an excited imagination as he discourses of time to come. He and his fellows, on the one hand, are pessimists; victims of despair, they harrow both themselves and their readers with long-drawn recitation of grotesque nightmares of stupendous horrors.¹ On the other hand, they are

largely composite in its nature, fragments of specifically Jewish Apocalyptic literature being embedded in it.

While these writings, reflecting or giving expression to long-standing beliefs, may again be subject to allusion, yet, inasmuch as they belong to a date later than the days of Jesus, it does not appear necessary to enlarge on their history, nature, and contents.

¹ If it be too much to say that "almost all the apocalyptic writers are hard," the fact remains that "they delight in horrors." Cf. Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 305.

one and all optimists ; buoyed up with anticipations they dream golden dreams, and tell of them in gorgeous language ; building their castles in the air, they lay on the colours thickly as they paint their pictures of imagined structure. They elaborate their Utopias ; and in so doing they lean heavily on predecessors, whether of their own or of an earlier school. Their ideals are by no means uniform, diverse are their conceptions ; yet, alike dwellers in the clouds, they are all of one family in regard to method of composition and manner of expression. Refusing to disclose their identity, they invest their productions with the glamour of illustrious names ;¹ with boundless audacity they claim intimate acquaintance with the counsels and purposes of deity. Of one type are the writers, of one type are their works. The laboured rhapsody, the "baseless fabric of a vision," each one abounds in monstrosities. Phantom-like are the personages who figure in the spectral scenes.

After such sort might the modern reader summarize his impressions of the writings under consideration. Nor would they be entirely false impressions. On the contrary, they are largely warranted by outstanding features which Apocalyptic literature assuredly presents. At first sight it might appear that its proper place is in a museum of antiquities ; that the men who toiled at its production were, however well-meaning, solemn and self-deluded triflers of their day and generation.

Yet it would be an altogether shallow criticism which found naught but a medley of wild imaginings

¹The Apocalypse of the N.T. is an exception to the rule ; for, whoever the author was, he writes in his own name.

and vapourings in each several Apocalypse; which, taking them collectively, could only speak with contempt of a conglomerate of illusions and contradictions fantastic in their embodiment and offspring of frenzied and disordered minds.

For the Apocalyptist is no mere "Schwärmer." The Apocalypse is far removed from idle "Schwärmerei." "Bizarre" it may be, and it is, "to modern eyes," yet "Jewish Apocalyptic was no ignoble thing" in its own day; its true grandeur still shines out with a clear bright lustre from the obsolete and repugnant form. The circumstances of its own period being what they were, its pessimism is easily accounted for; nay more, our admiration, not to say reverence, is thereby intensified for the Apocalyptist who can rise through the darkness of despair to "an heroic confidence in the divine intention to regenerate the world."¹ Foreign to our age are his beliefs, weird are his conceptions, grotesque are the pictures which he paints: the real man of flesh and blood behind them is animated and inspired by an indomitable trust in God. Hence his yearnings and hence his hopes. Hence his unquenchable and undaunted faith in an absolute perfection yet to be revealed. The essence of true religion is, then, found in him;² and if his piety be strange in its dress, it cannot be utterly and entirely an unhealthy thing.

What, after all, is the *Leitmotiv* which incessantly recurs in the literature which came from his pen?

¹Streeter, *O.S.S.P.*, p. 434.

²"Von der Sehnsucht und der Hoffnung, vom Glauben an eine unsichtbare Vollkommenheit lebt aber alle kraftvolle höhere Religiosität." Knopf, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

"To the Apocalyptic writers, as to the prophets, the Kingdom of God is the grand interest of the future."¹ That God was indeed King of old, that His Kingdom was from all eternity, that the world was under His sole sovereignty, they regarded as a matter of course; they nevertheless felt themselves compelled to draw distinctions. In a sense the reign of God had been always, and was even in the Now; in a sense—its evidences absent—it was not as yet in force; if on the one hand His Kingdom had its sphere in time present, so, on the other hand, it was relatively non-existent, a something to be realized in time to come. Meanwhile it tarried; meanwhile He, God, had withdrawn Himself, and was still a God far off; meanwhile malignant powers were arrayed in resistance to His will, His sovereignty was unrecognized and unowned. But the delay was fast drawing to a close, the moment was nigh at hand when the Kingdom in its every aspect² would have become the accomplished fact. What, then, would be the means and the manner of its realization? Whether by His own strong arm or by His appointed agent God would manifest Himself in intervention, and twofold would be the result: a decisive break with every opposing circumstance and condition, the complete and final establishment of a new order. In that new order the reign of God would be evident in the hearts and lives of a people in all things responsive to His will.

¹ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

² The *Malkuth Jakve* (Kingdom of God), while including the idea of "region," has the primary meaning of the "rule," or "reign" of God.

There is something grand in all this. Magnificent is the optimism of the Apocalypticist. It vanquishes his pessimism. Like the prophet he is upheld by strong convictions and inspired with splendid hopes. He too is persuaded that, however dark be time present, the destined future will soon be an all-glorious Now.¹

Wherein, then, his diversity from the prophet? In other words, what new features are perceptible in Apocalyptic literature?

Let us remark, to begin with, that generally speaking, its several writings lie outside the Canon, and are pseudonymous works. Bizarre and strange in character, these "revelations" are alike in their visionary and ecstatic form. Now and again suggestive of an earlier prophetic fire, it soon becomes patent that, if resemblance there really be, it is that of external imitation. One and all they illustrate a tendency to mere prediction. They teem with *ex eventu* prophecies. When they go on to actual attempts to prophesy there is something artificial in the manner of transition.²

But these are relatively unimportant features. Of deeper significance, to begin with, is the highly-developed angelology which issues from a now dominant conception of a far-off God. "Between man on earth and the Most High in heaven" there is now "a vast interval which Hebrew imagination filled with superhuman beings." Poetry had spoken of them as "sons of God"; the retinue of the Eternal,

¹ "Apocalyptic is the true child of Prophecy" (Charles, *Book of Enoch* (new ed.) p. vi.).

² Cf. Bousset, *Die jüdische Apokalyptik*, p. 11.

they had "shouted for joy" at the creation;¹ they were engaged in a perpetual worship of thanksgiving and praise;² as messengers of the divine will they passed to earth from heaven, and returned to present themselves before the throne of God. They figure now "as protectors or guardian spirits of the righteous";³ with larger functions they are patrons, prince-angels, of the nations. They are conceived of as real personages. Their portraits loom large on the canvas of the Apocalyptist. He knows their number and can tell their titles and their style.

Of still deeper significance is another novel feature. The Apocalyptist presents his readers with a highly developed demonology. He finds much to say of the influence and the dominion of the principalities and powers of darkness. The Satan is no longer reckoned of the heavenly host; ceasing to be the ministering spirit whose divinely-allotted task is to gauge men's motives and submit their integrity to the test,⁴ he now makes his appearance in reversed character and in malignant form. More than the rival, he is the avowed adversary of the Almighty. Sovereign in his own realm of evil,⁵ he is himself attended and ministered to by a train of demons who run his errands and perform his will. "The devil and his angels"⁶ are very real personages for the Apocalyptist. Familiar with them all he paints their portraits in horrid outline and lurid colouring.

¹ Job xxxviii. 7.

² Ps. xxix. 1.

³ Dan. iii. 25, 28.

⁴ Job i.

⁵ A conception which reappears Jn. xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11; 2 Cor. iv. 4.

⁶ Cf. Mt. xxv. 41.

They are known and alluded to by their names. They are seen in all the variety of their infernal machinations and appalling deeds.

At once we arrive at a main point. New is that dualism which is pre-eminently characteristic of Apocalyptic conceptions. Sharp is the antithesis between the principles of good and evil. Sharply does the Apocalyptist differentiate between two epochs—the age that now is, the age that is to come. For him this present world is utterly corrupt and past redemption; it hurries on its way to destruction. The future world, on the other hand, is conceived of by him as absolutely good. Good, and accordingly divine; because divine, therefore eternal in its duration.

This dualism lies at the very root of a belief in demon agencies. It accounts for another novel feature; the transcendentalism which, generally speaking, is distinctive of Apocalyptic writings. Old hopes of a brilliant future for the Jewish people to be realized in a natural order still survive; yet others have in large part supplanted them, and these, pointing to the region of the supranatural, no longer find their theme in a renovated Jerusalem and a transfigured world. The idea now met with is of a heavenly Jerusalem which, from all eternity existent, shall one day come down from above. As for this earth and the heavens which now are, they will be dissolved in the fire which awaits them. The prophetic figure has become the Apocalyptic reality as expectations now centre on new heavens and a new earth.¹

¹ Even as in a later work of uncertain authorship, 2 Pet. iii. 7 ff.

Another new feature is the doctrine of the future life. Of comparatively recent origin, unknown to or positively excluded by Jewish thinkers and writers of an earlier day, faint and uncertain in the manner of its first expression, it at length asserts itself, if in ample variety of form. Men believe in an awakening of the dead ; they differ as to who precisely are to rise ; with some the conception is of a partial, with others of a general, Resurrection ; they are not of the same mind as to the nature and conditions of the Resurrection-body. The Resurrection, again, is occasionally dispensed with ; the soul, it is nevertheless held, is immortal ; new conditions are at once entered when this life ends at death.¹ Yet on the whole it appears probable that the conception of a Resurrection was the commoner conception ; and Palestinian Jews would dwell by preference—so it would appear—on a Resurrection in which all the dead were to rise.

Again a new feature presents itself. The horizon has most surely widened ; linking his idea of Resurrection with that of Judgment, the range of vision of the Apocalypticist is extended far beyond the limits of his predecessors. There is a note of universalism in his anticipations. They take account of this earth. They take account, not only of actual dwellers upon earth, but of humanity in the aggregate, of all men, both quick and dead. They take account, further, of principalities and powers of

¹ It is pertinent to remark here that Paul's controversy (1 Cor. xv. 12 ff.) is with men whose conceptions differed from his own, and who regarded the theory of a resurrection as an unnecessary, and, to them, unintelligible adjunct to a belief in immortality which they doubtless held.

darkness ; of Satan and his rebel-vassals who, source of evil and the scourge of men, are arrayed in hostility to God. The expected Judgment has become a great World-judgment. Where thought had been of old of Israel's foes alone,¹ it is now of all peoples and nations, of the whole creation.

Yet another distinctive feature. It cannot be said of the Apocalypticist that he has ceased to be nationalistic in his conceptions. Yet he soars higher ; he is something more. A new element is introduced by him ; importance is attached to ethical ideas and interests, stress is laid on questions of character and conduct. When the great and terrible Day comes it will not do simply to plead membership in the Jewish nation. Another and a higher standard will be exacted in the great World-Judgment. For those who reach it, everlasting weal ; for those who fail to pass muster, that awful fate so realistically and horribly depicted. The Kingdom postulates a righteous people.

Apocalyptic literature, it has been said, finds its grand, its absorbing, interest in a Kingdom, a reign, of God which, as yet unrealized, is destined to fullest realization in time to come. We have remarked on certain novel features presented by it. One more feature meets us as the question is now raised : What is said in it of a Messiah-King ?

The Davidic King still figures in its pages. Once more we see him a right royal personage. Glorious, beneficent, is the reign of one who, never over-stepping the limits of the purely human, is God's viceroy.

¹ Yet Amos (ii. 1) makes room for the idea of judgment on Moab for an outrage on the King of Edom's bones.

But the earthly King of David's line is not, after all, the most conspicuous figure. Nor can he be; but little place remains for him with the new conceptions; hence it comes about that the Messiah of earlier hopes is either relegated to the background or disappears from view. Necessitated by the universalism, the transcendentalism, of Apocalyptic literature, a Messiah of another and altogether higher sort now plays his allotted part in the great drama of the End. He is the Son of Man. Like unto the angels and pre-existent, not of this earth but a being who comes down from heaven, his place at the great World-judgment is at the side of God. Nay more, he is seated on the throne of the Lord of spirits; yet not as ousting the Eternal from His proper dignity. If he, the Son of Man, be throned as universal Judge, it is because of an authority not his own by right; because he is invested by deity with judicial functions. Attended by angel-hosts and ruler in the Messianic Kingdom, "he has no independent place or function. He is simply the organ of God."¹ As such he abides for ever; of his Kingdom there is no end.

But this last conception is not invariable. The self-same heavenly, pre-existent being is again conspicuous in two Apocalyptic works which, already subject of allusion, are not the less vehicles of long-standing beliefs because they are the compilation of a later date. In the one case he is revealed, yet as altogether passive in the rôle assigned to him; the Kingdom is limited in duration; when the time of his presence is fulfilled, he returns in glory to heaven;

¹ Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 f. Cf. Bousset, *Die jüd. Apokalyptik*, pp. 32 f.

there follows the consummation of the times, final Judgment, the final establishment of the Kingdom.¹ In the other case the Messianic Kingdom is, again, bounded by time. At the end of four hundred years the supernatural being dies, and with him all that have the breath of life; a seven days' silence ensues, then a new world is brought in; the Most High is revealed upon the seat of judgment: the bringing in of the end is the act of God alone. To a question proposed there follows His reply: "By me also they shall be ended, and by none other."²

A last point clamours for attention; and it is one which bids us enter, if only for a moment, the wide—and to many the unfamiliar—field of comparative religion.

That field was once approached and very nearly entered when, in the preceding chapter, it was said in effect that, in the case of Israel in its infancy as a nation, phenomena presented themselves which are doubtless to be accounted for by contact with kindred tribes and other peoples. The fact has now to be reckoned with that page after page of Apocalyptic literature is marked by dependence on distinctively non-Jewish sources. So large are its borrowings, and of such a nature, that the conclusion might appear inevitable that, its native soil remote from that of Prophecy and Psalm, Jewish Apocalyptic throughout is essentially a foreign growth.

¹ *Apoc. of Baruch*, xxix., xxx. Cf. Charles *in loco*. The conception is not far removed from that of Paul; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24 ff.

² 2 Esdras vii. 29 ff., v. 56, vi. 6. Cf. Schürer, *op. cit.*, II. ii. p. 176; Charles, *Assum. Mos.*, p. 41.

The conclusion would go too far;¹ it is nevertheless in large part justified by critical research. In regard to locality of composition, the works in question originated, many of them, on foreign soil. As for the respective authors, they are, indeed, Jews; for all that, the Judaism of their writings is impregnated with extraneous matter. Due allowance being made for mere coincidence and resemblance, Jewish Apocalyptic is seen to be a mass of heterogeneous elements in strange admixture. Its characteristic dualism is child of Persian conceptions of, on the one hand, a God altogether good (Ahura Mazda), and, on the other hand, a God altogether evil (Angra Mainyu); on either side hosts of angelic beings; in the end the power of goodness victorious over the power of evil. Of Persian origin, again, is the belief in guardian and patron-angels; in a great day of judgment; in the appearance of a saviour at the end of the days; in a resurrection of the body; in renovation which follows on destruction wrought by fire; in new heavens and a new earth; in a future world of eternal duration. From Persia we turn to Babylon; it is to meet with angel-names; to hear of a plurality of heavens, to be reminded of recording angels and of mysterious books. The religion of Egypt points to a region of the dead, it looks for a bodily resurrection, it can tell of the blessed ones as they eat of a tree of life. If one or other of the Apocalyptists can dispense with a resurrection to dwell on personal immortality, on the indestructibility of the soul and its destined participation in the divine life, on other points too numerous to be specified, he

¹ Cf. Bousset, *Die jüd. Apokalyptik*, pp. 37 f.

thereby reveals the influence of Greek philosophy. Yet one point more: it may be that behind the resplendent figure of the Son of Man there stands the conception of an ideal of humanity which has, it may be, its home in Persian myth.¹

It must be said of Jewish Apocalyptic that, a product of religious syncretism, it testifies to the variety of foreign influences which, from the Exile onwards, were experienced and yielded to by the Jew of the Diaspora and the Jew of Palestine.

Let room be made for a closing reflexion which is throughout suggested by it.

The Messiah is variously conceived of. Now great functions are allotted to him, and now he is an altogether otiose personage. Here he is the Davidic King; there he shines out as a glorious superhuman being. Yet he is not a constant figure. There are denials of his necessity. He is set aside. He is not indispensable, even as the Son of Man.

What, then, is forced upon us? Just this: that, while apart from the Kingdom the Messiah is unthinkable, the conception of the Kingdom by no means involves the conception of the Messianic King.² Apocalyptists can do without him, for their hopes are focussed on the reign of God.

¹ For detailed examination of the whole question see *R.G.G.*, i. 521 ff.; Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des N.T.*, p. 90; Gressman, *Der Ursprung der israel.-jüd. Eschatologie* (a new edition is in preparation); Bökler, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüd.-christl. mit der Parsischen Eschatologie*; Cumont (*Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*) discusses the influence of astrology on Apoc. literature.

² Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

CHAPTER V.

IN THE DAYS OF JESUS.

WE now take our stand in the opening decades of the first century of the Christian era, and essay the task of determining the Eschatological beliefs and conceptions—Messianic hopes—which appear to have been current in the Judaism of our Lord's day.

There is a preliminary question. In what quarter, or quarters, is information to be sought?

Jewish Apocalyptic is doubtless to the purpose. Yet, inasmuch as its leading features have just been enumerated, there is no present need to recur to it; more particularly when new material in abundance is actually to hand. To begin with, there is further, and varied, store of specifically Jewish literature. And secondly, an appeal now lies to writings which, if specifically Christian in their origin, throw no inconsiderable light on the object of our search; the time, in short, has come for resort—subject to a decision which remains in force¹—to the pages of the New Testament. On the one hand, records are contained in it which profess to stretch back into

¹ Once more, but for the last time, the person of Jesus Himself is outside the scope of inquiry.

the period now in question. On the other hand, it embodies writings which conserve features of that period if they themselves illustrate and reflect the circumstances and conditions of a somewhat later day.¹

Let us find a starting-point in certain psalms or hymns which, occurring in the Introduction to our Third Gospel,² are clearly referred by its author to the dawn of the Christian era.

It must be observed at the outset that these psalms or hymns are combined with stories which tell of angel-appearances, and which profess to report angel-words. A celestial messenger arrives on the scene; the Gabriel of what is evidently a familiar designation,³ he proclaims the fulfilment of an ancient prophecy which had told of Elijah's return.⁴ A second time he descends on a divine errand; the message now brought points to a "Son of the Most High,"⁵ an evidently traditional Davidic King whose Kingdom and whose reign should have no end.⁶ Again the scene changes; the herald from on high, now an unnamed "angel of the Lord,"⁷ is presently accompanied by an angel-choir.⁸ The "Saviour"⁹

¹ Here, of course, the distinction is between the Gospels and the remainder of the New Testament.

² Lk. i., ii.

³ Lk. i. 19, 26; cf. Dan. ix. 21.

⁴ Lk. i. 15 ff.; cf. Mal. iv. 5, 6.

⁵ Cf. Enoch cv. 2, "I and my Son." "There is no difficulty about the phrase 'My Son' as applied to the Messiah" (Charles, *Book of Enoch* (new ed.), p. 262).

⁶ Lk. i. 32, 33; cf. Isai. ix. 6, 7, 2 Sam. vii. 12, 16.

⁷ The manner of the allusion, "the angel of the Lord," is, perhaps, suggestive of a third appearance of Gabriel.

⁸ Lk. ii. 9-14.

⁹ Cf. Obad. 21, Isai. xix. 20.

which is Messiah Lord"¹ of his glad tidings is expressly connected with "the city of David."² The angelic song presages a good time coming; "on earth peace among men of good pleasure."³

These reported angel-sayings are significant. Let us turn to the reported psalms or hymns.

The first is the *Magnificat*.⁴ Two women, it is said, are engaged in converse; the strain of glad thanksgiving, "My soul doth magnify the Lord,"⁵ is placed in the lips of one of them. It is clear from the personal allusions⁶ that the speaker, whatever her identity,⁷ is peculiarly conscious of benefits received from God, her Saviour.⁸ She passes from retrospect to anticipation: "His mercy is unto generations and generations of them that fear Him";⁹ she dwells with exultation on great things wrought already by superhuman intervention: "He hath shewed strength with His arm";¹⁰ Israel, God's "Servant," has been divinely helped,¹¹ and the help vouchsafed already is earnest of future blessing. The dominant tone is

¹ Or The Lord's Messiah. Cf. Lk. ii. 26. And see p. 225.

² Cf. Micah v. 2. According to 1 Sam. xvi. Bethlehem was David's earliest home.

³ Cf. Jubilees xxxi. 20.

⁴ Lk. i. 46-55; cf. 1 Sam. ii. 1-10.

⁵ Cf. Pss. xxxiv. 2, xxxv. 9.

⁶ Cf. Pss. lxxi. 19, cxi. 9.

⁷ Mary—or Elizabeth? The arguments which point to the latter are strong almost to conviction. Cf. Burkitt, *Who spoke the Magnificat?* in *J. T. S.*, vii. pp. 220 ff.; Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, p. 202; Völter, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1896, pp. 244 ff. Emmet, on the other hand, contends (*The Eschatological Question in the Gospels, etc.*, pp. 175 ff.) that Mary is indicated.

⁸ Cf. Hab. iii. 18, Isai. lx. 16, Hos. xiii. 4.

⁹ Cf. Exod. xx. 6, Ps. ciii. 17, 18.

¹⁰ Cf. Ps. xcvi. 1, Isai. xl. 10, li. 9.

¹¹ Cf. Ps. xcvi. 3.

nationalistic in its character. Nowhere is it expressly said that Gentiles as well as Jews are included among them that fear God. Nowhere is the divine mercy extended from the nation to the race.

Next comes the *Benedictus*.¹ He who speaks it is an aged priest; the hymn itself is conceived of as a prophetic utterance. With pointed reference to the Elijah-prophecy of Gabriel's message,² it is built up of ground and warrant for its opening words of praise: 'Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel.'³ He, God, has intervened; He has "visited and wrought redemption for His people."⁴ He has raised up a long-promised and long-expected Davidic King.⁵ High hopes are in process of realization; they point to a nation which, delivered from external foes⁶ and in the enjoyment of abounding peace, shall henceforth fulfil their God's commandments as a holy people.⁷ Thus far the hymn is as purely nationalistic in its tone as the *Magnificat*, nor is it absolutely certain that its exclusiveness ceases with its closing words. Once more the speaker's thought is of his own nation: "to guide our feet into the way of peace." If he also tells of light for "them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death"⁸ the allusion may be to his own nation in its days of gloom; yet it is not improbable that Israel is conceived of as the means whereby Gentile peoples should obtain a blessing.⁹

¹ Lk. i. 68-79.

² Lk. i. 76-79; 16, 17.

³ Cf. Pss. xli. 13, lxxii. 18, cvi. 48.

⁴ Cf. Ps. cxi. 19.

⁵ Cf. Ps. cxxxii. 17.

⁶ Cf. Ps. Solom. xvii. 25 ff.

⁷ Cf. Jubilees i. 16 ff.

⁸ Cf. Isai. ix. 2.

⁹ Cf. Isai. xlii. 6, 7, xlix. 6, 9.

We turn from the *Benedictus* to the *Nunc Dimittis*.¹ Its strains are attributed to a "righteous and devout" personage who had been "looking for the consolation of Israel"² and who had learnt by revelation that his aged eyes should gaze on the Messiah of the Lord. The eagerly awaited moment come he offers thanks to God;³ his fervent prayer is that, his waiting time on earth accomplished, he may go to his rest in peace.⁴ Israel's God, he is positively assured, has manifested his prepared Salvation.⁵ Jew that he is, he rejoices in the destined glory of his own nation, yet with equal gladness of heart he dwells on a reflected brightness for the Gentile world.⁶ Unlike the speaker of the *Magnificat*, he is practically a universalist. His song transcends the *Benedictus* as it hymns the divine mercy for mankind.

The question arises whether the reported psalms or hymns—not to say the reported angel-voices—be accurately dated in their setting, and if not, when and where did they originate?

They occur in a section which throughout rings like a passage from the Old Testament.⁷ Apart from the setting in no way distinctively Christian in character, they might well have been spoken, on occasion, by any pious Israelite. The stamp of

¹ Lk. ii. 29-32.

² Cf. Isai. xl. 1, 2.

³ Cf. Jubilees xxii. 7.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xlv. 36. It might be inferred that Simeon, content to quit the scene of an earthly Messianic Kingdom, anticipates a blessed immortality. Cf. Jubilees xxiii. 31.

⁵ Cf. Isai. lii. 10, Ps. xxi. 10.

⁶ Cf. Isai. lx. 1-3.

⁷ Julicher, *Einl.*, p. 296; cf. Machen, *The Hymns of the first chapter of Luke and the origin of the first two chapters of Luke* (*Princeton Theol. Review*, x. 1-2).

originality, again, is altogether absent from them ; like compositions elsewhere met with¹ they are mosaics of borrowed and adapted phrases ; *impromptu* utterances, then, they cannot be. On the assumption that they were really spoken on the given occasion, the conjecture would naturally follow that the respective speakers—whether portrayed as angels or as human beings—gave vent to their own deep feelings in long-accustomed words.² The assumption is, however, too precarious ; not necessarily dismissing the narratives as entirely mythical, we yet find sufficient warrant for relegating the poems therein incorporated to a later period. Are they, then, the free constructions of the Evangelist himself, or are they his free transliterations from some Aramaic source or sources ? Opinion differs ; if the latter alternative be adopted—and there is much which favours it—they then illustrate the hymnody and “exhibit the piety of the primitive Palestinian Christian Church.”³ The Judaistic Christianity which they reflect is, perhaps, rising to the conviction : “then to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life.”⁴ What it cannot yet do is to speak of Gentiles as “fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.”⁵

¹ Cf. The Song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 1 ff.) and the Psalm of Jonah (Jon. ii. 2 ff.).

² Even as the modern Christian might recite “O God our help in ages past,” or “Now thank we all our God.”

³ Box, *J.T.S.*, xiii. p. 323. Cf. Jülicher, *Einl.*, p. 296 ; Wernle, *Synop. Frage*, pp. 102 ff. ; *S.N.T.*, i. pp. 410 ff. ; Loisy, *Évang. Syn.*, i. pp. 276 ff.

⁴ Acts xi. 18.

⁵ Eph. ii. 19.

In any case we have to do with later hymns placed by the Evangelist in the lips of personages who figure in his idyllic pictures because, in his opinion, well suited to the occasions, they reflect ideals cherished in pious Jewish circles at an earlier day.

What, then, shines out from them? The Salvation of their allusions is, on the one hand, emphatically referred to God; on the other hand, the appointed means of its accomplishment is a Davidic King; and he, preceded by an Elijah *redivivus*, reigns over a redeemed Israel for evermore. The Kingdom, essentially a Jewish Kingdom,¹ is nevertheless fraught with blessings for the Gentiles in their gladly acknowledged vassalage to the people of God. The interests are in large part ethical and spiritual: "to give knowledge of salvation unto His people in the remission of their sins."² Precisely the same conception is met with in stories which, found elsewhere but yet similar in general character,³ are equally designed to place the reader in the earlier period. Messiah's functions transcend those of purely human kingship; it is expressly said of him: "he shall save his people from their sins."⁴ They are, however, conditioned by the same restricted conception of the Messianic Kingdom; he is "born King of the Jews."⁵ Albeit invested

¹ So emphatically, in the reported angel-words Lk. i. 32, 33. Cf. Lk. ii. 10; where the "good tidings of great joy" points, not to "all people" (A.V.) but (R.V., rightly translating *πᾶσι τῷ λαῷ*) "to all *the* people," *scil.* of Israel.

² Lk. i. 77. -

³ Mt. i., ii. Yet they fall short of the poetic charm and beauty of the Lucan idylls.

⁴ Mt. i. 21.

⁵ Mt. ii. 2.

with more than earthly prerogatives, he still answers to current expectations of a Davidic King.¹

Whether the hypothesis be tenable or not that, the ban divinely placed on astrology notwithstanding, God did actually resort to signs and portents astrological in the manner pictured by the First Evangelist,² the fact remains that the Story of the Magi bears striking witness to beliefs which, then stirring in the Jewish world, were afterwards transferred from Jewish King to Roman Emperors.³

But to pass on. There is scarce room for doubt that, in the period now under consideration, the mind of Judaism was profoundly exercised by anticipations of the reign of God. That the phrase itself had become current coin is plain from the manner of its use; explanation is altogether needless when for those who hear and those who speak the Kingdom is a familiar thing.⁴ The proclamation of its near approach, that the looked-for Kingdom of God is actually at hand, is by no means matter of general surprise; if doubt be really entertained in certain circles as to the exact "when,"⁵ it is not incompatible with certainty that there cannot be prolonged delay.⁶ There is a strong consensus of opinion that the Kingdom will be brought

¹ Mt. ii. 4 ff.

² Voigt, *Die Geschichte Jesu und die Astrologie*, p. 145.

³ Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, vi. 5, 3; Tacitus, *Hist.*, v. 13; Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 4.

⁴ Mt. iii. 2, Mk. i. 15 = Mt. iv. 17, Mt. xviii. 1; cf. Mk. ix. 34, Lk. ix. 46, xiv. 15.

⁵ Lk. xvii. 20. The question of the Pharisees may simply have been put from motives of curiosity.

⁶ Lk. xix. 11.

in, directly or indirectly, by the act of God.¹ And further; there is agreement in that, devils and the prince of devils being very real personages,² the Kingdom argues the victory of God over Satan and his angel-hosts. Yet again: thought was of a decisive breach with an existing order, sharp was the distinction between time present and an epoch yet to come.³ Once more: in popular beliefs, the Kingdom, the good time coming, meant, no doubt, the sovereignty of God; it also meant emphatically the honour, glory, and renown of God's own peculiar people.⁴

It would be true, perhaps, to say of contemporary Judaism that it was thus far in general agreement in regard to the Kingdom of God.

Yet there is much more to be said. As in our own day so in that remote period; due allowance must of course be made for the "buried life," for numbers who, untouched by vital religion, were altogether barren in regard to the interests and aspirations of devout Judaism.⁵ But further—and

¹ While the petition "Thy Kingdom come" may be regarded as an integral portion of the Lord's Prayer, it points to the ancient worship of the Synagogue, and accordingly to contemporary Judaism as united in prayer that God would "make His Kingdom to reign."

² Mt. ix. 34, xii. 24=Lk. xi. 15.

³ Implied in Peter's reported speech, Acts ii. 16 ff. Paul is explicit, Rom. xii. 2, Gal. i. 4.

⁴ Lk. xxiv. 21, Acts i. 6.

⁵ In which the Sadducees had little if any part. The priest-aristocracy of their day, they, no doubt, held the reins; yet their influence was even then on the wane, and, but a small section of the community, they were doomed to extinction at no distant date. As a class rigidly conservative, they were content to acquiesce in the existing situation, and their religion was a very formal and outward thing.

again as in the modern world—devout Judaism itself bore witness to a diversity of opinion. There might be widespread unity in the main point that God would ere long make full assertion of His sovereignty. But there was variety of conception as to the manner of the Kingdom, the new conditions which its establishment would effect.

It is nevertheless plain that, among the new conditions dreamt of, there was one which stood out conspicuously as a meeting-point of contemporary Jewish hopes. A Jewish State might be actually in existence, yet the ultimate ruler and arbiter was the Roman Empire;¹ and, generally speaking, devout Judaism was persuaded that, whatever else the establishment of the Kingdom would involve, it would certainly bring with it full and final exemption from that dishonour and disintegration under which the nation writhed. There might be unwillingness to raise the standard of revolt on the part of men who proposed a famous question;² in Jewish eyes generally the tax exacted by Caesar³ was a thing detestable as belonging to the livery of detested foreign rule. Some might acquiesce in it; not so the more part of the Jewish people. Content to be regarded—by some of his compatriots—as an idle dreamer,⁴ the devout Jew generally held to his belief that foreign rule would end; that the Kingdom would be restored

¹ Cf. Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. lxx.

² Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 280.

³ Mk. xii. 13 ff., Mt. xxii. 15 ff., Lk. xx. 20 ff.

⁴ From the Sadducean standpoint. "Nur Träumer können wännen Rom's Herrschaft los zu werden" (P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu*, i. p. 21).

IN THE DAYS OF JESUS

to Israel he regarded as a matter of course different counsels obtained. On the one hand were content to wait in patience for the day should be God's good pleasure to emancipate the people.² On the other hand, a revolutionary was in the air;³ and men of the self-same big which, a few decades later, brought about the fall of the Jewish State⁴ would have neither part nor lot in a policy of inactive waiting on the Will of God. To frenzied prayers they added reckless deeds, and sought to hurry on events by resort to arms.⁵ But however strong the political element might be with those who lived their lives amid the throb and stir of movement, the case was altogether different with numbers more; for, after all, no inconsiderable section of the community was made up of "the quiet in the land,"⁶ of people who, quite as

¹ Acts i. 6.

² The attitude of Pharisaism generally.

³ Cf. Lk. xiii. 1. Whatever the incident the turbulence of the Galilaeans is a matter of history (cf. Jn. vi. 15); similarly in the case of Judaea. Barabbas (Lk. xxiii. 18) had probably taken part in some petty insurrection. The allusion to risings under Theudas and Judas of Galilee (Acts v. 36 f.) are not the less significant because fraught with serious difficulty. Jesus Himself, if not regarded as a very dangerous personage, was executed as a revolutionary.

⁴ At the Fall of Jerusalem.

⁵ The Zealots. Of these ultra-nationalists one seems to have been included in the number of "The Twelve"—Simon "the Cananaean," or "the Zealot" (Mk. iii. 18=Mt. x. 4=Lk. vi. 15). It may be that in the perplexing saying, Lk. xvi. 16, there is a warning against vain attempts of misguided patriots (Conybeare, quoted by Montefiore, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 998), but Scott (*op. cit.*, pp. 139 ff.) explains it of men so earnest in their passion for the Kingdom that, wrestling in the prayer of faith, they prevail on God to shorten the days.

⁶ Ps. xxxv. 20.

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS

lonalistic in their hopes, preferred to stand aloof from the strife of opinions and interests which they felt to be altogether void of help and comfort.¹ They may, or may not, have been regarded with disdain² by the very classes whom they in their humility respected from a distance;³ their simple piety was real. In Judaea and in Galilee during the years 1-30 A.D. there must have been many retired, quiet men and women who lived pious lives according to the law and did not concern themselves with politics."⁴

There was, then, diversity of attitude. The fact notwithstanding, the Kingdom of God generally yearned for and expected was also generally identified with "the new Kingdom of the Jews."⁵ It did not follow that membership therein was invariably postulated on the sole ground of Jewish birth. Pretensions might be raised in certain quarters⁶ and pride of nationality be dominant throughout; devout Judaism, alive to the necessity of other qualifications, had learnt to differentiate between Jews by the mere accident of parentage and the elect of the Jewish nation.⁷ No doubt eager for political emancipation, not to say aggrandisement, it also panted after deliverance from the guilt of sin; for spiritual

¹ P. W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, i. 36.

² Jn. vii. 49.

³ Hollmann, *op. cit.*, p. 22. But cf. Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. pp. lxvi, cxxxiii; ii. p. 717.

⁴ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. lxx. It is to persons of this type that Luke refers in the idylls of his Introduction.

⁵ Shailer Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁶ Mt. iii. 9=Lk. iii. 8.

⁷ So the lawyer (Lk. x. 25 ff.) and the rich young man (Mk. x. 17 ff.=Mt. xix. 16 ff.=Lk. xviii. 18). To the same effect the not altogether complacent remark of the Pharisee (Lk. xiv. 15) as to who should "eat bread in the Kingdom of God." Cf. Rom. ii. 28, 29.

blessings which should radiate from the centre of its world (Jerusalem) on Gentile nations in vassalage to itself and to its God. That the "new Kingdom" would embrace Jews and Jews only¹ was, however, generally assumed.

Another common feature is already suggested. The "new Kingdom," essentially a Jewish Kingdom, being yet thought of as reserved for none save those who satisfied the divine requirements, devout Judaism was firmly persuaded that, prior to its introduction there must come the Judgment.² That the Judgment would be heralded by signs and portents³ was generally allowed; and further, that, immediately preceded by some dire struggle between rival powers,⁴ it would be catastrophic in its manifestation, final in the decisions then pronounced. The old conception of a day on which the nation's foes should meet with their destruction had not, indeed, completely vanished; yet side by side with it and superseding it there was another conception, one which subordinated the national to the ethical, and which, dwelling on the individual, affirmed that each one would have to answer for himself before the Judgment-throne. The

¹ To the inclusion of Gentiles who, by submitting to circumcision had identified themselves with Judaism. This, perhaps, is assumed by Peter when (Acts ii. 39) he alters "the remnant" of Joel ii. 32 (the LXX is quite different) into "all that are afar off." Yet it may be that the universalism of a later period (Eph. ii. 19) has made him the mouth-piece of sentiments then foreign to his mind.

² The very fact that room was made in Jewish thought for more than one judgment is evidence for the central nature of the belief. Cf. Shailer Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

³ This is clear from the Synoptic Apocalypse.

⁴ A belief which underlies the section 2 Thess. ii. 3 ff.

distinction between Israel and Israel's foes has become the distinction between the good and the bad.¹ Humanity in the aggregate—not to say the powers of darkness—is conceived of as arraigned before the Judge.

By consequence there was a general expectation of a Resurrection.² Yet here, too, there was variety of opinion; while instances are met with of a belief in immortality apart from Resurrection-doctrines.³ In the view of some the Resurrection would be of the righteous only;⁴ others went further and extended it to the Jewish people as a whole;⁵ others again, looked for a general Resurrection;⁶ here and there, it would appear, the idea was entertained of a first Resurrection to be followed by a second.⁷ Nor was Judaism of one mind as to the condition of the soul during the interval between death and Resurrection; for if some conceived of it as sleeping in the grave,

¹ Cf. Bousset, *Relig. des Jud.*, p. 262.

² Repudiated by the Sadducees (Mk. xii. 18=Mt. xxii. 33=Lk. xx. 27), who were not prepared to hold what the Law of Moses nowhere affirmed; also by the author of Macc. i. Bertholet (*Stade-Bertholet, Bibl. Theol. des A.T.*, ii. p. 252) is careful to distinguish between resurrection-doctrines proper and a widespread belief that dead men could return to a new earthly life (cf. Mt. xiv. 2, xvi. 14, xxvii. 52).

³ "The swan-song of Simeon" is, perhaps, a case in point. Hellenistic Judaism appears to have contented itself with the hope of immortality (cf. Pfeleiderer, *op. cit.*, i. p. 80).

⁴ Josephus, XVIII. i. 13; cf. Lk. xiv. 15.

⁵ Cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch* (1st ed.), p. 32.

⁶ Cf. Schürer, *op. cit.*, II. ii. p. 179; Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 258. The doctrine in this form appears Jn. v. 28, and, perhaps, xi. 24.

⁷ A view which finds expression, not, perhaps, for the first time, Rev. xx. 6, 13.

others pictured its abode in Paradise;¹ others, again, found their hopes satisfied by the noble words: "The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God."² Once more, conceptions differed as to the nature of the Resurrection-body; but while the popular belief in all likelihood, expected the resumption of ordinary life, far more spiritual views obtained, and the educated classes generally had come to think of a body adapted to the new conditions: "in the world to come there is no eating or drinking or marrying or envy or hate; but the righteous rest with crowns upon their heads, and are satisfied with the glory of God."³ Or to turn to another quarter: "A view of the Resurrection is expounded, which sets forth first the raising of the dead and their bodies in exactly the same form in which they had been committed to the earth with a view to their recognition by those who knew them, and next their subsequent transformation with a view to a spiritual existence of unending duration."⁴ This view, no doubt already ancient, is again met with where the thought is at once of liberation from the flesh and of "a new body appropriate to the circumstances of the heavenly life."⁵

¹ Duhm, *Das Kommende Reich Gottes*, p. 30.

² Wisdom iii. 1.

³ Montefiore (*op. cit.*, i. p. 285), instancing the *locus classicus*, Berachoth, 17a, adds: "this was the official doctrine, and it doubtless was the view of all educated Pharisees at the time of Christ."

⁴ Charles, *Apoc. Baruch*, p. lxxx.

⁵ "The Pauline teaching in 1 Cor. xv. 35-50 is in many respects not an innovation, but a developed and more spiritual exposition of ideas already current in Judaism" (Charles, *ibid.*). Cf. Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, i. p. 291.

What, in the belief of contemporary Judaism, was to follow on that World-judgment which involves the Resurrection?

The end of the world.¹ As for the manner of the catastrophe, it is variously conceived and pictured.² A belief which gains currency amounts to this, that on the day of the great Judgment creation should finish its course; that utter destruction should then overtake all that has been and that is: "everything that exists will become the prey of corruption and be as though it had not been."³ Transformation becomes renovation: "I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth are passed away; and the sea⁴ is no more."⁵ Yet the idea of an entirely new creation had not so taken possession of the mind of Judaism as to banish altogether the idea of a transfigured earth. On the contrary, in the very general identification of the coming reign of God with "the new Kingdom of the Jews," there is proof conclusive that this earth was still widely conceived of as the scene of future, and unending bliss.⁶

It is natural to ask: What, in the mind of Judaism, would be the lot of the righteous, the fate of the wicked, at the Great Day of Judgment?

The lot of the righteous. Many are the conceptions met with; and, bewildering in their variety and

¹ "Weltgericht und Weltende sind untrennbar mit einander verbunden" (Bertholet, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 456).

² Another Deluge (Enoch liv. 7-10, lxvi.); a general conflagration (2 Peter iii. 7, 12).

³ *Apoc. Baruch*, xxxi. 5. ⁴ A source of terror for the ancient world.

⁵ Rev. xxi. 1; cf. 2 Peter iii. 13.

⁶ The conception met with 1 Thess. iv. 17.

often extravagant, they occasionally illustrate attempts to co-ordinate and systematize conflicting theories. In popular belief the scene was, doubtless, laid on this earth;¹ sin and evil have altogether disappeared, peace and prosperity endure for ever, God Himself dwells among His own, and they prolong their lives in the enjoyment of innumerable blessings, the Law goes forth from a glorified Jerusalem over all the world, converted Gentile nations² own the supremacy of ransomed and restored Israel, and bow in lowly adoration before Israel's God. Herein the national element is conspicuous; nor does it cease to be a characteristic feature with conceptions not so much of a reversion to idealized primeval conditions and abodes in a re-opened Paradise³ as of, on the one hand, transference from earth to heaven, or, on the other hand, of a new order to descend from heaven to earth,⁴ of a "Jerusalem that is above"⁵ "coming down out of heaven from God";⁶ it again asserts itself when, by a combination of ideas, the expected Kingdom on earth, limited in duration, is viewed

¹ Cf. Mt. v. 5.

² Yet the thought is not seldom of their destruction.

³ 2 Esdr. viii. 32.

⁴ Die Erde im Himmel, der Himmel auf Erden—es ist das Schwanken, wie es in der frommen Glaubenserwartung immer wieder kehrt, und wiederkehren muss, weil sie ihr Heil im Himmel sucht, während sie von der Erde, auf der sie lebt, doch nicht ganz loszukommen vermag" (Bertholet, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 460).

⁵ Gal. iv. 26. Here Paul is in full agreement with his Rabbinical teachers, who "used to speak of a heavenly Jerusalem (cf. Heb. xii. 22), the ideal city of the future, as already existing in upper regions and destined to descend to the earth in the Messianic era" (Adeney, *Century Bible in loc.*).

⁶ Rev. xxi. 2.

as a prelude to the full and final reign of God.¹ With conceptions more definitely transcendental in their nature the blessed are evidently dwellers in celestial regions; like unto the angels they are children of light;² death itself abolished³ they have entered upon an endless life; they are partakers of a heavenly banquet; their portion is rich in blessings which, however often detailed with the colouring of exuberant fancy, are nevertheless said emphatically to be inconceivable and indescribable by mortal man.⁴ They are pictured as in the immediate presence of the Eternal.⁵ Now and again their waiting time between death and resurrection is dispensed with; and, this life ended, their souls put off the earthly tenement and depart to be with God.⁶

The fate of the wicked. They are destined to exclusion from the looked-for Kingdom;⁷ whatever is in store for the righteous is not in store for them; their fate quite the reverse, the manner of its conception is so varied and so contradictory as well-nigh to defy analysis. The Resurrection comes, but it is not

¹ A conception which, taken over by Paul (1 Cor. xv. 24 ff.) and clearly formulated Rev. xx., strongly influenced the Rabbinism of a later day. Cf. Bousset, *Relig. des Jud.*, pp. 273 ff.

² 1 Thess. v. 5.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 26.

⁴ 1 Cor. ii. 9. The citation, according to Origen, is from an Apocalypse of Elijah; but, whatever the source, Paul apparently regards it as Holy Scripture.

⁵ 1 Cor. xiii. 12, 1 Jn. iii. 2.

⁶ A view which, met with more particularly on Alexandrine soil, and originating in Greek conceptions of the immortality of the soul, was not absent from Paul. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 1 ff., Phil. i. 23.

⁷ 1 Cor. vi. 9, Gal. v. 21.

for them ; whither they have gone at death there they remain ; their souls drag out an unconscious existence in an under-world.¹ With the righteous they, too, rise at the Resurrection ; it is to go, on the one hand, to a "Second death,"² on the other hand they are doomed to survive in torment and anguish which shall know no end. Imagination runs riot in depicting the horrors of the existence of the wicked in the after-world ; it varies in localizing the scene ;³ the *place* ceases to be of interest as greater stress is laid on the *condition* of physical and mental pain.⁴

The impression, strong already, of the extraordinary lack of uniformity⁵ in the anticipations of contemporary Judaism is heightened when those fall for consideration which turn on the question of a Messianic King.

To that question we now address ourselves. Was devout Judaism of one mind in the expectation of a Messiah ? If such was the case, by whom, by what, was he to be heralded ? How was he conceived of ? What his prerogatives, and what his functions ?

The first question can be briefly answered. As has been seen already, the personal Messiah is by no means an ever-present figure in devout Jewish thought ; men find it possible to dispense with him altogether in their conceptions of the Kingdom ; in

¹ Wisd. iv. 19.

² Cf. Rev. xx. 14. But according to another view they are annihilated in the under-world.

³ Volz, *Jüd. Eschatologie*, pp. 288 ff.

⁴ Bertholet, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

⁵ Yet along with the motley variety of conceptions there is unity in the main point, the coming reign of God.

one case¹ he is tacitly repudiated, while hopes are centred on "the Eternal God alone."² Yet such persons would probably be in a very small minority; and, speaking generally, Judaism was united in an expectation of the Messianic King which, howsoever its object might be conceived of, obtained with peculiar intensity in the days of Jesus.³

To pass on to the second question. In the prevalent belief the Messiah, when he came, would come suddenly; ⁴ his advent would nevertheless be preceded by all kinds of omens, by a period dark with perplexity and tribulation.⁵ Old-world heroes would reappear and go before his face; chief of fore-runners is Elijah ⁶ long ago glorified in his wondrous deeds,⁷ another is an unnamed yet evidently familiar prophet,⁸ it may be that a third is Enoch,⁹ from an allusion not easily explained¹⁰ it might appear that

¹ *Assump. Mos.* "Die Mischna übergeht ihn sozusagen gänzlich." Bertholet, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

² To say of the personal Messiah, "he will of course always be implied" (Shailer Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 54), is scarcely in keeping with the facts.

³ Such, in any case, is the impression conveyed by the Gospel narratives.

⁴ A view perhaps latent, Jn. vii. 27.

⁵ Hence the doctrine of the "travail," "birth-pangs," of Messiah. Cf. Mk. xiii. 8=Mt. xxiv. 8.

⁶ Mk. ix. 11=Mt. xvii. 11.

⁷ Ecclus. xlviii. 4.

⁸ Mt. xvi. 14. Cf. Jn. i. 21, vi. 14, vii. 40. The prophet like unto Moses of Stephen's speech (Acts vii. 37) is identified with Messiah himself.

⁹ Cf. Schürer, *op. cit.*, II. ii. p. 158.

¹⁰ Mt. xvi. 14. The mention of Jeremiah is peculiar to the First Evangelist, and, it may be, points to some belief in this prophet's reappearance which was based on 2 Macc. ii. 1 ff., xv. 14.

Jeremiah figures in the list. Further, there are more than faint traces of a popular conviction that the Messiah, so to speak, would be herald of himself. The "works"¹ done by him proclaim his advent.

We arrive at a group of questions which turn on the personality of the Messiah, his prerogatives and functions.

"In the literature of later Judaism we meet with two very different views as to the nature and origin of the Messiah. On the one hand, he appears as a merely human ruler who is to bring about a period of quasi-material prosperity in the future, to destroy the enemies of Israel, and to inaugurate an era of ethical regeneration on earth. On the other hand, he is represented by the apocalyptic writers (in close connexion with the idea of divine judgment) as a wholly supernatural being, depicted in characteristically mythical colours, and viewed as the initiator of the new 'Golden Age'; in other words, emphatically as a God-King."²

Unquestionably both conceptions meet us in the period now under consideration. Denials notwithstanding,³ it is practically certain⁴ that contemporary hopes and beliefs were widely "associated with the figure and expectation of the Deliverer-King, the Messiah-Prince,"⁵ of whom prophecy had told, and

¹ Mt. xi. 2. Here the First Evangelist appears to make use of a technical expression: "The works of the Christ." Cf. Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

² Hague, *J.T.S.*, xii. pp. 72 f.

³ Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, p. 367.

⁴ The story of the appearance of John the Baptist might be to the point, yet see p. 55, Note 4.

⁵ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. pp. lxxiv., xcvi.

who should rule in righteousness over a righteous people. Old conceptions which pointed to the house of David had not only started into new life, but central in the hopes of the masses was the figure of the Davidic King.¹ Of the seed of David,² Messiah's birthplace would be David's ancestral home.³ In the minds of some he is the warrior-monarch,⁴ nor are those few in number who look for political supremacy to issue from his reign;⁵ yet numbers more make larger room for thoughts of peace, goodness, an extended knowledge of God, in their ideas of national prosperity under a King of Israel who should come in the name of the Lord. If his first task be the conquest or destruction of the hostile nations,⁶ the beneficent features of his rule are accentuated; he is to "reign in righteousness" as a prophet had foretold,⁷ to be "a horn of salvation"⁸ in a sense not to

¹ Bousset, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 f. The identification of Messiah with the priestly tribe of Levi or with a prophet are exceptions which prove the rule.

² Mk. xii. 35=Mt. xxii. 42=Lk. xx. 41, Jn. vii. 42, Acts viii. 23, Rom. i. 3.

³ Mt. ii. 5, Jn. vii. 42.

⁴ Lk. i. 71. Less certainly Lk. i. 51 f., where the thought is primarily of God. It is to be regretted that Christian thought and practice still discovers (Epistle for Monday before Easter) the Messiah in the war-god world-judge who has executed vengeance on Edom. (Isai. lxiii. 1 ff.). Cf. Haller, *Ausgang der Prophetie*, pp. 32 f.

⁵ Acts i. 6. Cf. Jn. vi. 15. It may be that the political element is strongly reflected in the story of the Temptation, Mt. iv. 8 f.=Lk. iv. 5 f.

⁶ Notwithstanding his efforts ever to lay chief stress on the ethical, Philo, unable to shake off popular conceptions, speaks of the Messiah-King as the man who goes forth to battle. Cf. Schürer, *op. cit.*, II. ii. p. 148.

⁷ Isai. xxxii. 1.

⁸ Lk. i. 69.

be exhausted by mere reference to external foes, his people are to be taught at his lips,¹ he is exalted to a high pedestal; some, indeed, there are who scruple not to speak of him as Son of God, but they are relatively few,² and the fact remains that nowhere does he outstep the limits of the purely human. Sublime in his character and gifts and graces, he is of earthly origin. His sphere is limited to this earth. Whatever the duration of his reign he is God's viceroy.

There might be differences in detail. The purely human Messiah might be otherwise conceived of in one or other corner of contemporary Judaism. Some, again, might have the vision of "a pure theocracy in which the absolute reign of the Law would leave no room for any earthly King."³ In any case, popular expectations of the period were largely centred on the grandly idealized figure of a Davidic King to be raised up by God. Yet it is apparent that, far from being wholly satisfied with such conceptions, Jewish thought was also fixed on a personage more exalted in origin and dignity; even if, in compliance with ancient traditions, it blended his features with those of the Son of David.

In other words—and the question being in particular of the more educated classes⁴—the "eschato-

¹ Cf. Jn. iv. 25. The Samaritan woman is made to allude to the Messiah's function as teacher.

² The references are given by Hague (*op. cit.*, p. 77), who rightly observes that the designation, seldom met with, bears as yet no metaphysical meaning.

³ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁴ Emmet (*op. cit.*, p. 45) writes: "No doubt the outlook of the average Jew embraced both conceptions, and he would not have been

logical" Messiah looms large in the thought of contemporary Judaism.

The Messiah, that is, of apocalyptic speculations. As has been seen already, the traditional herom monarch recedes from view; his place is filled by a superhuman, angelic being who has existed from all eternity with God; who, at the time appointed, comes forth from his concealment in majesty and glory, seated on the clouds and accompanied by angel-hosts. He is designated by exalted titles; Messiah Son of David has become Messiah Son of Man; he is the Elect, the Righteous; he is evidently regarded as near akin to deity if never certainly alluded to as Son of God and nowhere ranked on an equality with the Eternal. That his coming will be sudden and unexpected is an article of belief; yet there is variety of opinion as to the exact "when"; conceptions, again, differ as to the rôle destined to be played by him in the great drama of the End; if now and again an altogether otiose personage, he is in the main pictured as Judge of all creation and Messianic King. But the jurisdiction exercised is not inherent in him; throned indeed as King, he occupies a subordinate position. Nor is the dominion committed to him invariably an everlasting dominion; on the contrary, his Kingdom is sometimes conceived

careful to reconcile their contradictions." But this is surely only true to a limited extent; while, in so far as it points to the masses, to "the man in the street," it is in the teeth of the evidence. "To the people at large the Messiah remained . . . the Son of David who would bring victory and prosperity to the Jewish nation" (Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 55). On the other hand (as Scott recognizes), "the national and apocalyptic elements of the Messianic hope" were already blended in the minds of not a few who belonged to "the quiet in the land."

of as reaching its allotted period when the supreme authority is assumed by God. However much his appearance may be hoped for, he is never thought of otherwise than as agent and instrument of the divine purposes. "The real King is always God Himself."¹

The Messiah thus pictured with variety of conception assuredly confronts us in the pages of the New Testament. The respective writers are, no doubt, concerned to transfer his features to a given personage, but this, for the moment, is beside the question; the point is that familiarity is disclosed with a transcendent, superhuman, Messiah who, before his appearance, is a dweller in the heavens, and is far more exalted than the very angels.² Resort is had to what are evidently his more or less accustomed styles and titles. The Christ of God, he is the Elect One,³ and the Righteous One.⁴ It is known that, however seldom and with whatever qualification, he is alluded to as Son of God.⁵ The inference is suggested that, in certain circles at any rate, he is designated Son of Man.⁶ And again, his functions

¹ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

² Wrede, *Paulus*, p. 87.

³ Lk. xxiii. 35: ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ἐκλεκτός. Cf. Lk. ix. 35: ὁ ἐκκληγεμένος.

⁴ Acts iii. 14, vii. 52, xxii. 14.

⁵ Cf. The Story of the Baptism; also the High Priest's reported words, Mk. xvi. 61. Hebs. i. 5, is significant; yet "it must be recognized as certain that Ps. ii. was not of decisive importance in the Jewish conception of the Messiah, and that 'Son of God' was not a common Messianic title" (Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 272).

⁶ While according to Jn. xii. 34 the multitude are puzzled by an unaccustomed phrase (or by the manner of its use), the impression generally conveyed by the Evangelists is that its use occasioned no surprise. But this is sufficiently explained by their point of view; and it must be

are set forth with a terminology long in use ; Saviour and Redeemer of his people, he figures in the two-fold capacity of Judge and King.¹ The nations are summoned to his tribunal ; throned on the judgment-seat,² his jurisdiction extends over both quick and dead ;³ ruler of the age to come, he is hailed " King of Kings."⁴ His appearance is to be in power and great glory ; he " shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God."⁵ From his verdicts there is no appeal.⁶ Now he reigns for ever ;⁷ now his Messianic Kingdom is equally God's Kingdom ;⁸ now the period of his rule terminates, and God becomes " all in all."⁹

For what, let us ask in closing, shines out in particular in the case of Paul ?

His Christology is, unquestionably, in large part his own construction. As unquestionably it is, in large part also, a structure elaborated on no narrow basis of inherited beliefs ; he had grown up and been trained to them ; long before his " conversion " they had become a very part of himself ; they underlie, they interpret, the thrice-told story of his wondrous vision of a personage whom he had never known on

regarded as certain that, while the property of certain Schools, the designation Son of Man was far from being a generally accepted title of the Messiah in the days of Jesus. Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 241 ff. ; *E.B.* v. 4717 ; Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. 583 ; Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 58. But cf. Charles (*Enoch*, p. 317) on the significance of Jn. xii. 34.

¹ The offices are combined in the Matthaean description (Mt. xxv. 31 ff.) of The Great Assize.

² Jn. v. 22, 27.

³ Acts. x. 42.

⁴ Rev. xix. 16. Cf. *S.N.T.*, ii. 673.

⁵ 1 Thess. iv. 16.

⁶ Mt. xxv. 46.

⁷ Lk. i. 32.

⁸ Rev. xi. 15.

⁹ 1 Cor. xv. 24 ff.

earth.¹ Himself a Pharisee, he—like the great majority of the Pharisees of his day—had been “eagerly awaiting the revelation of a Messiah”;² Pharisee that he was, he already thought of the Messiah of his expectations as existent from all eternity with God.³ The crisis of his life over, his hopes realized in the object of a thenceforth indomitable faith, he falls back ever and again on lofty predicates of the Messiah long since ready to his hand. He adds on and he amplifies; the point here is that his Christological conceptions are throughout coloured by those of the Rabbinic Schools. With his doctrine of a heavenly being,⁴ he bears involuntary witness to Messianic beliefs which were actually current in the devout Judaism of his day.⁵

At this stage we halt. In so far as he figures conspicuously in contemporary Jewish thought—and, as a rule, he does so figure—the Messiah expected is assuredly portrayed with an abundant variety of conception. The remark is indeed justified: “we

¹ Acts ix. 3 ff., xxii. 6 ff., xxvi. 12 ff.; cf. Gal. i. 15 f. “Glaubte er überhaupt in seiner Vision Jesus als den Christus zu sehen, so musste er sich ihn auch genau so vorstellen wie er diesen Christus längst gedacht hatte” (Wrede, *op. cit.*, p. 86).

² Percy Gardner, *Relig. Experience of St. Paul*, pp. 25 ff. There being exceptions to the rule, Professor Gardner is not strictly accurate when he writes, “like all the Pharisees of the time.”

³ J. Weiss, *Christus*, p. 33.

⁴ Cf. Percy Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 f.

⁵ “Je mehr ihm das Bild des geschichtlichen Jesus durch das des himmlischen überstrahlt wird, um so mehr tritt in den Vordergrund die Messiastheologie, deren Ansätze er von der Urgemeinde übernahm, die er aber bereicherte durch Fragestellungen, Kategorien, Denkformen, in denen sich das geistige Leben des jüdischen Schriftgelehrten bewegte” (Wendland, *H.B.N.T.*, I. ii. p. 242).

do not exactly know what was the prevailing conception, or what were the various conceptions, of the Messiah and of his office in the days of Jesus.”¹ The position is not incorrectly stated thus: “There was never any Jewish dogma regarding the Messiah, nor any systematized and officially sanctioned doctrine of the Messiah in the sense that there was later a Church doctrine of Christ; but vague conceptions of very various origin and content, which, indeed, partly contradicted each other, were current in different circles without coming into conflict with one another. The one fixed point which formed the centre of the Messianic conception was that God would victoriously and magnificently assert His Kingship over His People, and through them over other nations, by means of miraculous deeds of power.”²

Or in other words, the predominant conception was that of the reign of God.³

¹ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 50.

² Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, i. p. 75.

³ Cf. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JESUS AND THE ESCHATOLOGY OF JUDAISM.

IF the end of the long road which stretched out before us at the outset of our inquiry be still distant, yet many stages have been traversed, and, a vantage-ground now reached, we can take some stock of the situation.

What, thus far, has been accomplished? A start was made with preliminaries; the sources for the Life of Jesus and the transmission of His Sayings were the questions then discussed. The next stage was entered when, getting to closer quarters with our main subject, we went on from a general survey to formulate conclusions and to summarize His beliefs and conceptions in regard to the Last Things. He, since then, has practically disappeared from view; from resort, with unbiassed minds, to ancient Jewish literature, we proceeded to remark features presented by the Judaism of His own period. Long time was spent in searching the familiar pages of the Old Testament; if longer time still was devoted to Apocalyptic writings, it was because they open up what is to many an untrodden field; in each case the attempt was made to tabulate results. With the

stage last arrived at impressions were set down as to the eschatological beliefs and expectations—Messianic hopes—which, apart from Jesus Himself yet in the days of Jesus, appear to have been current in the Jewish world. Their diversity was fully recognized. It was said in effect that the many elements presented were far indeed from being all held to by all people.¹

Now it is at this juncture that the question positively thrusts itself upon us: What, if anything, is there in the Eschatology of Jesus which differentiates it from the Eschatology of contemporary Judaism? Or to word it differently, and putting it the other way about: How does the Eschatology of His contemporaries compare with that of Jesus?

Let us institute a comparison; as careful to remember that, while in the one case we have to do with a single personage, in the other the question is of many men and many minds.

1. Judaism was united in the belief in two ages. It distinguished between the present age, the future age. In like manner Jesus.

2. In the belief of Judaism the present age was an evil age. That it was exposed to, and under, the influence of the powers of evil the Jew was persuaded; he went so far as to conceive of a present dominion of Satan—not necessarily drawing the inference that no place whatsoever remained for the government of God.² It would appear that Jesus was of the same mind.

¹ Shailer Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 52 note.

² If the Sayings Mt. vi. 26 ff., x. 29 ff. = Lk. xii. 6 f., must be understood primarily of the belief of Jesus Himself, yet an impression

3. The age to come was conceived of by Judaism as a good age. Precisely the same conception obtained with Jesus.

4. A belief that the good age to come would be brought in, whether directly or indirectly, by God Himself was the common property of Judaism and of Jesus.

5. Contemporary Judaism held to the belief that the End of the age "that now is" would be heralded and ushered in by signs and portents, by a time of tribulation, and that the manner of its accomplishment would be catastrophic in its nature. That a similar belief was held by Jesus admits of little doubt.

6. Judaism expected the final defeat and downfall of the rival power of Satan. So did Jesus.

7. The Judgment is conspicuous in the thought of Judaism, and it is quite as conspicuous in the thought of Jesus.

8. Generally speaking, Judaism looked for a Resurrection. So did Jesus. There was, that is, agreement on the main point; on neither side was there absolute uniformity of conception.

9. The lot of the Righteous, the fate of the Wicked, are pictured by Judaism. Similar are the pictures drawn by Jesus. Nor can it be denied that on both sides—if in varying measure—an element of realism¹ colours the descriptions.

is conveyed that what He confidently affirmed was no novelty to the hearers.

¹ Cf. Bertholet (Stade-Bertholet), *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 464 f. : "Uebrigens waren die Juden so starke Realisten, dass sie in solchen Dingen nie streng zwischen Bild und Realität unterschieden."

10. That the new age would bring with it the Kingdom, the Reign, of God was predominant in the thought of Judaism. So, emphatically, with Jesus. In agreement with His contemporaries, He regarded the Kingdom as still future; He shared their belief that its coming was imminent.

11. There is but little doubt that, with exceptions which prove the rule, the expectation of a Messiah was alive and astir in the Judaism of the period. It shall suffice to say here that a Messiah figures prominently in the thought of Jesus.

12. In, at all events, certain sections of contemporary Judaism—and, perhaps, very widely—it was held that Messiah's advent would be heralded by "forerunners," of whom Elijah would be one. Herein Jesus was of the selfsame opinion.

Thus, then, in regard to main points, Jesus is in formal agreement with eschatological beliefs and conceptions generally current in His day; and it will not be forgotten that such beliefs and conceptions, by no means specifically Jewish in their nature and origin, are largely traceable to foreign influences.

Yet it would be a superficial criticism which forthwith rushed to the conclusion that, by reason of mere formal agreement, the resemblance was essential and complete.

In some respects, perhaps, it is complete. Let us clear the ground by enumerating some points in which—so it would appear—there is no vital difference between Jesus and, generally speaking, the Judaism of His day.

To begin with, there is the belief in two ages. In the second place, the age that now is is regarded as

evil. Again, the age that is to come is conceived of as a good age. Once more, the good age is to be brought in by God. Further, the idea of signs and portents, of tribulation, of catastrophic events, is common to both sides. In each case there is confident expectation of the vanquishing and destruction of Satan's power. The Judgment is looked for. So is a Resurrection. It might be said, at all events provisionally, that the lot of the Righteous, the fate of the Wicked, are described in similar terms.

But while the resemblance thus far is complete it is in regard to generalities, and questions are thrown up which suggest that variety of conception may co-exist with formal agreement.

Let us single out points. What exactly is understood by a good age? The good age is to be brought in by God;—how, and by what means? Judgment postulates a Judge; who, then, is he? What precisely is it that differentiates the Righteous from the Wicked? Whether herein there is essential difference of opinion between Jesus and the Judaism of His day remains to be seen.

But again to clear the ground. Judaism gave to an Elijah *redivivus* an exceedingly prominent place among the "forerunners" of widespread expectation. So did Jesus. He nevertheless took a further step in that (as it would appear) He identified John the Baptist with the Elijah whose return was looked for.¹

Two points remain. In the first place there is the Kingdom, the Reign, of God. That it lay in the future, that its coming was imminent, was the belief

¹ Heitmüller (*R.G.G.*, iii. 592) refers the identification to the primitive Church.

held in common by Judaism and Jesus. It does not follow that the respective conceptions of the Kingdom were identical; Judaism may have meant one thing by it, Jesus quite another. And secondly, there is the question of the Messiah. If in some quarters no room was made for a Messiah, yet the more part of Judaism expected a Messiah. But the conceptions were diverse; of any official dogma there is no trace whatever. Inasmuch, then, as a Messiah figures in the thought of Jesus the question is whether there be elements common to Himself and to Judaism; and it may turn out that some of His conceptions are altogether foreign to collective Jewish thought, and *vice versa*.

It is accordingly necessary to enter upon a closer investigation; and one which, finding its main theme in the two points just instanced, also takes account of questions thrown up by some of the ten which remain.

I. The Kingdom of God in the conception of Jesus and of contemporary Judaism.

There are common elements which, noted already, need not give us pause. The Kingdom is placed in the future; its coming is imminent, it is "at hand." We quickly pass on to ask as follows:

i. By whom is it to be brought in? The answer in each case is that it is to be brought in by God.

ii. Is it, nevertheless, possible to hasten its coming? Jesus, apparently, thinks that it is possible; and here, parting company from devout Judaism *en masse*, He is at least in formal agreement with one section of Judaism. But the resemblance stops abruptly; the contrast is sharp and complete between fanaticism

with its resort to earthly weapons and a supreme confidence that the prayer of faith prevails with God.

And here it may fitly be observed that, while an unwholesome tendency to vain calculations as to times and seasons is displayed by the more highly strung and speculative minds of Judaism, Jesus—Himself dwelling on signs, and inviting attention to their significance—is content to leave the exact “When” of the Kingdom God’s secret.¹

iii. Membership in the Kingdom. Inasmuch as thought on both sides is of a Kingdom brought in by God, it would seem to follow that there is agreement in regarding the Kingdom as the gift of God. Again, the introduction of the Kingdom is, in each case, intimately connected with the idea of Judgment. Yet further, a persuasion that the Kingdom is reserved for the Righteous is common to Judaism and to Jesus. The question at issue might, accordingly, be stated thus: is there coincidence or difference of opinion as to who and of what sort are they who—at the Judgment-Day—will be accounted worthy to obtain possession of the gift of God? Or, more shortly (and the identity of the Judge not yet falling for consideration),—who, in the view of Jesus and of Judaism, are the Righteous?

They are certainly Jews. That the new Kingdom was to be a Kingdom of the Jews is a feature which stands out conspicuously in the conceptions of Judaism. Nor is the feature altogether absent in the case of Jesus; on the contrary, it is often met with. He

¹ Cf. Montefiore, *op. cit.*, p. lxxix. The Rabbis “regarded it as a sin to calculate the advent of the Messiah.”

can restrict His Mission to His own people; He can point with significance to the "Holy Land." It might seem that He too conceives of an essentially Jewish Kingdom.¹

But are they the Jewish nation *en masse*? The answer, in each case, appears to be in the negative. As for devout Judaism, there is sufficient proof that it differentiated between Jews by the mere accident of birth and Jews who answered to divine requirements. And as for Jesus, He emphatically declares of some Jews that they will find themselves excluded from the Kingdom of God.

The Righteous are Jews, Jews of a certain sort;—are they, then, Jews and Jews only? Here it might be said that a note of inclusiveness is struck on both sides; it may be, with diversity of tone and strength. That the expected Kingdom is to be a source of blessing to the Gentiles is a conception—let us add, a grand conception—which continually recurs in Judaism; it is nevertheless usually combined with the thought of Gentiles in vassalage to a pre-eminently Jewish Kingdom; at the same time a door is held open to the Gentile willing to embrace Judaism and so to become the Jew. How does the case stand with Jesus? In vain do we look for any positive and decisive statement from Him. Rather are we led to draw inferences; and they are such as point to the conclusion that, in thought although not in word, He overleaps the barriers of race.

¹ "It cannot be denied that there are Sayings of Jesus which may be used to show that He thought of the Kingdom as to be composed of Jews; e.g. Lk. xix. 9, Mk. xiv. 25; cf. Lk. xxii. 16, 30" (Shailer Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 73 note).

It is, perhaps, safe to say that on neither side is there rigid insistence on the absolute necessity of Jewish birth; and that, in each case, a way is found whereby racial distinctions may be set aside.

While, then, the Righteous are Jews, not every Jew is included in their ranks, nor is their number made up exclusively of those who can establish their claim to Jewish ancestry. Other qualifications, it would appear, have been found in them. At the great Judgment-Day they, tested by the Judge, have stood the test. Wherein does it consist?

The question is ultimately this: Of what sort is that righteousness which has been found in them, and is it variously conceived of or not by Judaism and by Jesus?

And to this question a reply comes from long-accustomed beliefs and inherited prepossessions. "Pharisaism" is held up to contempt; the all-round inferiority of Judaism is accentuated; the religion of the Jew is identified with a barren formalism. It is laid down as axiomatic that the gulf which separates the righteousness conceived of by Jesus from that of Judaistic conceptions is both wide and deep.

But is this a true answer?

To a certain extent, yes. It holds good, no doubt, of the Sadducees as a class. And again, in every party there would be Jews with whom religion was a very barren and formal thing; whose ideas of righteousness soared no higher than to prompt them to a mere external compliance with prescribed form and ceremony. In so far as Judaism was of this sort, it can be said with truth that the contrast with

Jesus is between darkness and light. Yet further ; were a more exalted Jewish piety too painfully solicitous for good works, it can be truly said again that it would fail to pass muster in the eyes of Jesus. It by no means follows that the difference between Himself and genuinely devout Judaism was essential, absolute, and complete.

For, distinctions being recognized and not exaggerated, candour demands the admission that, contrasts notwithstanding, a genuinely religious Judaism and Jesus were, to no small extent, of one mind. The righteousness conceived of is, after all, God's righteousness. It is held that, in order to attain to it, the will of God must be done. Strong is the conviction that mere external obedience in no way satisfies the divine requirements; that what they really involve is a right attitude of the inner man. It is laid down with emphasis that God¹ looks to the heart ; and while conscious purity of life is regarded as imperative, it is felt to be then only possible when the soul is pure within. If it be insisted on that the Judgment will turn on personal conduct, it is nevertheless fully recognized that conduct must ever be conditioned by the character which lies behind. The aim proposed is high ; the earnest and persistent imitation of God. In short, the parallels are numerous and singularly close.

What, then, of the recorded saying of Jesus : "Except your righteousness shall exceed (the righteousness) of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the Kingdom of heaven?"¹

¹ Mt. v. 20. A saying which, doubtless, belongs to Q. Yet the connection in which it stands is open to question. Perhaps it originally

It has been said that "the righteousness of the Scribes consisted in punctilious veneration for the letter of Scripture, that of the Pharisees was a scrupulous ritualism."¹ But this is to go too far, and the sweeping generalization fails to take account of two distinct streams of tendencies which, originating in very different sources, were flowing in contemporaneous Jewish life; of two lines of development which, diverse in feature, had started from altogether different points. In the one case the dominating influences are those of Ezekiel and Ezra; that which survives in the other are the high ideals of the greatest of the Hebrew prophets.² On the one hand there are devotees of an excessive legalism with its scrupulous regard for detail; on the other hand a perception on the part of many a pious soul that the one thing needful is a heart approved by God. The former class may have been largely represented; who shall dare to affirm that men belonging to the latter were nowhere to be found among the Scribes and Pharisees of the days of Jesus?

The recorded Saying, then, makes a demand for qualification. As for the "righteousness" which must be "exceeded," it is that of convention; those to whom Jesus points are Scribes and Pharisees whose devotion to the non-moral side of the law was productive of evil results.³ And as for Jesus

followed on v. 10 (*S.N.T.*, i. 268); Allen (*St. Matthew*, p. 46) prefers to connect it with v. 17.

¹ Slater, *St. Matthew, C.B.*, p. 150.

² Gelderblom, *Vom Himmelreich*, pp. 46 f.

³ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. lxxviii.

Himself; He evidently goes a long way, if not the whole way, with those who, in their conceptions of righteousness, reflect all that is highest and noblest in prophetic Judaism. He may run counter to the Pentateuch. The spirit of Amos, of Hosea, of Isaiah, is His.¹

But does He go beyond? Is He in any way original in His conceptions? There may yet be contrasts; if so, wherein?

There are contrasts of degree. Never before and nowhere at the time is the conception of righteousness so essentially ethical in its nature as it ever is with Jesus. Again, He is original when, setting the Mosaic Law aside, He affirms the great principle—familiar to the modern world, yet novel in His day—that what defiles the man is not external uncleanness, but his own sin.² Once more, He goes beyond His contemporaries in that the righteousness He requires is closely bound up with a conception of the relation between man and God as son to father which, prominent indeed in Jewish thought, is removed by Him from the circumference, and placed in the very centre of religion.³

Such are the points fastened on and such the contentions. In each case, no doubt, the insight displayed by Jesus is profound; His grasp of essentials is unerring and complete; vital issues are

¹ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 172. "Jedenfalls steht Jesus von Nazareth auf seiten der Propheten" (Duhm, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

² Mk. vii. 15. On the significance of the Saying see *S.N.T.*, i. p. 136; J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, p. 136. Yet cf. Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 173.

³ *E.B.*, iv. 4109.

accentuated by Him; clarifying, liberating, are His words. That herein He transcends His contemporaries must be admitted, yet the contrast is still in degree; it is still possible to urge that nowhere does He strike the note which never at any time had been heard before. One point, however, gives us pause; He is, perhaps, *sui generis* when, eliminating constraint, He gives all prominence to the idea of spontaneous responsiveness to the Heavenly Father's Will on the part of human children who are near and dear to God.¹ It may be so; the conclusion still lies near that "the originality of the teaching of Jesus is a dogma which can hardly be maintained except in quarters where the Old Testament, the Apocrypha (in the widest sense), and Philo are ignored."²

Once more, then, we are led to draw distinctions. There were Pharisees—and Pharisees; "if some Pharisees fell so low as to merit the reproach of 'hypocrite,' such a reproach was due only to those who fell so low, not to religious Pharisees in general."³ The ideals of these last in regard to

¹ "Die bessere Gerechtigkeit, von der er redet, ergibt sich als inneres, freies Wollen, als Frucht der Kindschaft" (Gelderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 126). Cf. Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 113.

² Hart, *J.T.S.*, xiii. p. 430. To the same effect, Weidel, *Jesus Persönlichkeit*, p. 6; Ninck, *Jesus als Charakter*, pp. 340 ff.

³ Herford, as quoted in the *Guardian* (9 Aug., 1912) Report of the Oxford Summer School of Theology. The Reporter goes on to suggest "that St. Paul, 'a Pharisee, son of Pharisees,' must be as good an authority on the teaching of the sect as most moderns"; and doubtless there is force in the suggestion. Yet the convert (or pervert—according to the point of view) is often no unbiased critic of his former co-religionists, and it is not quite safe to judge Pharisaism by the allusions

righteousness were lofty ideals which, far from being repudiated by Jesus, were by no means utterly at variance with His own.

To revert to the main question: Who, in the view of Judaism and of Jesus, are the Righteous?

It appears on the whole probable that, the question being of all that was highest and noblest in contemporary Jewish life and thought, the respective opinions would be very near akin. In the one case there is, it may be, an element of constraint; in the other constraint has vanished and the idea of spontaneity prevails; otherwise an inward Righteousness is jointly postulated; on both sides it is held that the Righteous are the God-approved; if they are pure in external conduct and behaviour, it is by reason of the character which is pure within. Primarily they are Jews, yet not every Jew is discovered in their ranks; not all necessarily of actual Jewish lineage, they have nevertheless, in whatever way, made good their claim to participation in blessings laid up for the people of God. Room, accordingly, is made for those who are not Jews by birth; the question then is whether there be diversity of opinion in respect of the conditions of their inclusion. This, perhaps, is certain; in the expectation of an essentially Jewish Kingdom as the inheritance of the Righteous, Jesus and Judaism are in formal agreement, while it is probable that the formal agreement extends to a conception of the Kingdom as destined source of blessing for a Gentile world. But is there

of St. Paul. But see Elmslie's review of Herford's *Pharisaism* in *J.T.S.*, xiv. pp. 593 f.; also Blakiston, *John Bapt. and his relation to Jesus*, p. 159.

essential disagreement, and, if so, wherein? It might be true to say of Judaism that it stopped short at the two alternatives:—a state of vassalage, or else incorporation. Not so with Jesus. He refrains from explicit statements; He speaks no decisively inclusive word to which the appeal can be made.¹ Yet it is a true instinct which seizes on “the universal, non-Judaic elements which were present in the character and spirit of Jesus”;² and the inference is safe that, in thought while not in word, He did actually place the genuinely devout Gentile on an equality with the genuinely devout Jew. In other words, an idea of the Righteous as including all who, whatever their nationality, should pass muster at the Great Assize was present in the mind of Jesus; and those who read His mind best displayed their penetration when, at a later period, decisively inclusive utterances were boldly placed by them in His lips.³

¹That a knowledge of Sayings of Jesus was possessed by Paul is certain. A Saying, otherwise unrecorded, is actually cited by him Acts xx. 35; on the assumption, precarious, of Pauline authorship he again appears to cite 1 Tim. v. 18; cf. Mt. x. 10, Lk. x. 7; yet it is probable that Jesus simply quoted a familiar proverb. What, apparently, Paul cannot do (or does not care to do) is to instance one definitely inclusive Word of the Lord and thereby establish his position in the controversy with the Jerusalem Church. To the same effect Kalthoff, *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* 17.

²Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, i. p. 35.

³Jn. x. 16. Jülicher, remarking on the impossibility that the Judaizing party should retain the upper hand, adds: “Man fühlte dass eine gerade Linie von Jesus zu dem Heidenapostel Paulus führte; ja zu der Erweiterung des Arbeitsfeldes bis an die Grenze der Erde musste es, auch wenn Paulus nicht aufgetreten wäre, unter den Jüngern kommen. Die beste Rechtfertigung für diese Neuerung des Paulus liefert Matthäus

Let it be asked next whether the lot of the Righteous in the golden age to come be so pictured as to evidence radical differences between Judaism and Jesus.

There are elements of realism on both sides. In regard to the fate of the Wicked it certainly appears that, while in the one case there is absolutely nothing corresponding to the revelling in and gloating over horrors which is often encountered in the other, Jesus and Judaism are thus far alike that they lay on dark colours; and the conjecture is not too rash that, of what was said on each side, something was meant and understood literally. *Mutatis mutandis* the same thing holds good—yet by no means in equal degree—in regard to the lot of the Righteous. Nowhere does Jesus give free rein to the imagination after the manner of successive Jewish dreamers; never does He indulge in fanciful descriptions; on the contrary, He is singular in His restraint. At the same time (and full allowance being made for resort to imagery and metaphor) His Sayings do not invariably admit of a purely figurative interpretation.¹ Yet the thought which dominates Him is of changed and spiritual conditions; of the “beatific vision”; of eternal life in its significance of full communion with God. And here, perhaps, all that is spiritually minded in Judaism is not so very far removed from

wenn er xxviii. 19 den Auferstandenen gebieten lässt: Gehet hin und lehret alle Heiden” (*Paulus und Jesus*, pp. 15 f.). Those who maintain the authenticity of the Saying instanced must account for the fact that no baptismal use of the trinitarian formula occurs in N.T., and that baptism into the name of the Lord Jesus (Acts ii. 28, vii. 16, x. 48, xix. 15) is alone spoken of. Cf. *S.N.T.*, i. p. 404.

¹ Otherwise Haupt, *Eschat. Aussagen Jesu*, pp. 92 ff.

Him: to "see God," to be "satisfied with the glory of God";—therein the chief blessedness of the Righteous.

iv. The question of locality remains: What is the destined scene of the Kingdom, the Reign, of God? In other words, where will the Righteous spend that eternity of bliss which has become their inheritance? On this earth? On an earth which is an entirely new earth? Not on a transfigured or renovated earth, but in the Beyond? In heaven itself? Or in a heaven which has come down from above?

Judaism is far from uniform in its conceptions. No fixed and generally accepted dogma on the question of locality is met with. Popular opinion, perhaps, laid the scene on the earth which now is but which nevertheless is a transfigured earth. The minds of some soared upwards in their flight, and accordingly their anticipations centred on the "many mansions" in the realms above. It might be generally true to say that, in Jewish conceptions of the future Kingdom, the "Afar" so merges in the "Near" as to be a unity which comes from the "Beyond."¹ Neither is there uniformity of conception in the case of Jesus. To go by some of the recorded Sayings He points away from earth; the Kingdom, the golden age which witnesses to a reign of God, is transferred by Him to higher regions; the abodes of the Righteous are in the heavenly places. On the other hand, the scene is laid by Him here below, as thoughts rise in His mind of the "Holy Land."

¹ "Eine Zukunftsgrösse, in der Jenseits und Diesseits in eins zusammenfließen, die aber von drüben kommt" (von Soden, *Wichtigste Fragen*, p. 79).

Yet even then His glance is upwards ; the Kingdom here below is after all a new order which has come down from on high to earth. The "Where" is, perhaps, comparatively unimportant to Him. It may be that He is content to leave it as He leaves the "When," God's secret.¹

Is it altogether venturesome to say that, as with all that is most spiritually minded in Judaism, so with Jesus ; it is not so much a question of exact locality as of new conditions to be brought about by God ?

To venture another conjecture. There is variety of conception on both sides. In the one case there are frequent attempts to fill in details ; in the other there is the quality of restraint. May it not be that deep below the surface and struggling to find expression, there is on either side a consciousness of two horizons, of which one is bounded by the things of time and space, while the other extends to things not seen and eternal ? In each case the vista is of the "Good Time"² coming—on this earth—"otherwhere."³

To sum up for the moment.

It has been lately asked : "Did our Lord Jesus Christ share the popular opinions of the Jews on Eschatology ?"⁴ Narrowed down to the single issue, the Kingdom of God, it is a question which,

¹ Cf. von Soden, *op. cit.*, p. 79 ; Haupt, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

² Burkitt, *C.B.E.*, p. 203.

³ "Our Lord seems to have affirmed both the earth-purpose and the final spiritual purpose of the Father" (*Voluntas Dei*, p. 186).

⁴ By Bishop Moorhouse, whose pamphlet thus entitled, if printed privately, has been given publicity in a *Guardian* notice, wherein it is said : "The Bishop replies distinctly in the negative" to his own question.

otherwise broadly worded as it stands, can then and only then be answered in a decisive negative if it be held to point without exception to each and every opinion in vogue in the Judaism of our Lord's day. Undoubtedly there were opinions, popular opinions, not shared but repudiated by Him; and it is a sound conclusion which separates Him *toto caelo* from Jewish contemporaries who satisfied themselves with low ideals or allowed their imagination to run riot in the fantastic and the grotesque.¹ The case is very different when, differentiating between Jew and Jew, the comparison with Jesus is restricted to a genuinely religious and spiritually minded Judaism. Now and again, it may be, He transcends its very noblest representatives; it is safe, perhaps, to say, that He does actually transcend them; it is nevertheless true that some—not so very few—of their conceptions are His own. With them, be it added, He shares the belief that the Kingdom “was to be introduced miraculously, at some special instant in the near future”—to be introduced, that is, by God, and at a moment which, known to God only, was all the same at hand. That, “adopting the general idea”—so it runs in negations to the cited question—“our Saviour transmuted it into that of a spiritual Kingdom, already set up in the present” is at best a precarious assumption. It surely reads too much into a reported Saying of exceptional—not to say uncertain—significance;² it fails to take account of

¹ “So streift Jesus von der Erwartung die apokalyptische Form ab, er wehrt der sinnlichen Neugier und verlangt ein rein religiöses Hoffen” (Duhm, *Das kommende Reich Gottes*, p. 33).

² Lk. xvii. 21.

what was practically constant in the thought of Jesus: "He spoke of a Kingdom which God would bring to pass by His own creative act."¹ Yet it would not be incautious to speak of logical conclusions from the fact (and it appears to be a fact) that, allowing the efficacy of spiritual effort on the part of man, He somehow identifies the Kingdom with His own presence, and we may mark the true instinct which placed the Sayings Jn. x. 6, xii. 32, Mk. xvi. 15, Mt. xxviii. 20 in His lips.²

The decision must be that, while on the one hand there are features which necessitate distinctions, so, on the other hand, there are others which prompt the admission that Jesus is far from being entirely aloof from Judaism in His conceptions of the Kingdom of God.

II. The Messiah. How does the case stand respectively with Judaism and with Jesus? Wherein is there agreement and wherein the contrast?

There are instances which show that genuinely pious Jews could dispense with a Messiah. Not so Jesus. But the exceptions prove the rule; Judaism as a whole made room for a personal Messiah. So, it is plain, did Jesus. He takes the further step of discovering the Messiah in Himself.

Again. Here and there in Judaism the Messiah looked for is an otiose personage. Not so with Jesus. His thought being of Himself, He is of one mind with the major part of Judaism in holding the contrary opinion.

¹ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

² It was inevitable that the "Kingdom" should merge into the "Church."

In the third place. It was the common belief of Judaism that the Messiah would be raised up, sent, by God. A like conception is evidently in the mind of Jesus.

Yet further. If apart from the Kingdom the Messiah is unthinkable, he, wherever he figures, is expressly connected by Judaism with the Kingdom.¹ Herein Jesus and Judaism are in close agreement; and, the Kingdom being on both sides regarded as future, the agreement necessarily extends to the conception of a Messiah yet to be revealed or inaugurated.

Once more. The Messiah hoped for by Judaism would be invested with, in any case, the office of King and Judge.² In like manner Jesus; He shares the implied conception of offices which are divinely conferred. In other words, it is held on both sides that the Messiah is subordinate to God.

But the question is: Who and of what sort is the Messiah as conceived of respectively by Judaism and Jesus?

As has been remarked already, Judaism is not uniform in its conceptions. To begin with, popular hopes centred on the brilliant yet purely human figure³ of a Davidic King who, raised up by God,

¹ "Mit dem Reiche Gottes hängt der Messias aufs engste zusammen" (Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 379).

² "Nur ausnahmsweise knüpft sich die messianische Erwartung an einen Priester aus levitischem Geschlecht oder an einen Propheten." Bertholet (Stade-Bertholet), *op. cit.*, p. 446.

³ Döllner (*Die Messiaserwartung im A.T.*, pp. 9 ff.) labours to prove that a virgin-born Messiah had been expressly foretold; and, according to him, the "woman" of Gen. iii. 15 is "ein ganz besonderes Weib . . . das Weib κατ' ἐξοχήν, das nie durch eine Sünde Freundin des

should accomplish the conquest or destruction of the hostile nations, and reign in righteousness over a righteous people. Did Jesus read such a conception into the Messiahship He claimed?

That He claimed for Himself the Messianic Kingship is practically certain. His conception of the Kingdom being what it was, the thought would be prominent in His mind of a righteous people in their allegiance to Himself, their righteous King. Quite possibly He assumed the downfall of the Roman power—that, as a matter of course, would be swept away in the great crisis;¹ it would, nevertheless, seem that He concerned Himself but little with politics or with the national life; He is mainly interested in the individual and in religion;² in His conception of Himself as emancipator and deliverer the foes He doubtless contemplates are "spiritual enemies—the demons and powers of wickedness that held men in bondage."³ That it is God who calls Him to His destined Kingship, a Kingship identified by Him with a "royalty of service,"⁴ He is firmly convinced. The conception of a purely human monarch is, in any case, qualified by His consciousness of a unique relationship with God. But does He really adopt the theory of the Davidic King?

Satans, sondern durch ihre Sündlosigkeit stets dessen Feindin gewesen ist, die unbefleckte Jungfrau Maria." It might be enough to say that "the story of the Lord's birth is . . . alien in its very nature to Jewish ideas" (Chase, *C. T. E.*, pp. 413 f.).

¹ J. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

² Cf. Montefiore, *op. cit.*, p. lxxx.; Pfeiderer, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 58.

³ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁴ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 183. A conception not altogether novel; cf. 1 Ki. xii. 7.

It is hard to say. A case may yet be made out for an answer in the affirmative: "the conception of a great deliverer of the house of David is not thrown aside, much less controverted (by Him), but it is raised to a higher plane and worked out to its larger issues."¹ On the other hand, the negative conclusion is not easy to rebut: in rejecting the designation Son of David for the Messiah (Mk. xii. 35 ff.) Jesus thereby turned His back for good on the figure of a Messiah of Davidic lineage.² He certainly conveys the impression that, even if actually a descendant of David, He attaches small importance to the fact, and prefers to base His claims elsewhere.

On the whole it seems probable that, while the popular conception of the Messiah is not rejected by Jesus *in globo*, it is in part spiritualized by Him, and in part (including, possibly, the Davidic descent) set aside.

But, and again as has been already said, Judaism had ceased to be wholly satisfied with the figure, however grandly idealized, of a human Davidic King. Jewish thought had already turned to a more exalted personage, if it occasionally sought to portray his features as mindful of national traditions. Yet the hero-monarch recedes from view: the ground is now occupied by an angelic superhuman being; Messiah Son of David has become Messiah Son of Man. High are his titles, lofty his prerogatives. As a rule he figures conspicuously and actively in the drama of the End. In short, whether blended or not with the idea of a triumphant Son of David,

¹ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

² Baldensperger, *Das messian. Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, pp. 169 ff.

"there was that of a supernatural being who was to come with the clouds of heaven and inaugurate the new age."¹

As with sections of contemporary Judaism, so with Jesus; the "eschatological" Messiah looms so large in His conceptions as, not, perhaps, to eliminate, but to overshadow the figure of the Davidic King.

The designation Son of Man is assuredly genuine in His lips. His use of the designation may have been—in all probability it was—comparatively rare; the point is that, adopting it, He thereby yields assent in the main to conceptions which the phrase connotes. "The conclusion is unavoidable that when Jesus speaks of the Son of Man He alludes to the apocalyptic figure imagined by"² now one and now another apocalyptic writer. He identifies that figure with the Messiah. The Messiah of His conception, then, is the pre-existent, superhuman, all glorious being who shall come with the clouds of heaven attended by an angel train. As Judge, He is seated on the throne. As King, He reigns, yet as God's viceroy, in the Messianic Kingdom.

Thus far general agreement. Then follow the distinctions; on the one hand Jesus goes beyond Judaism, on the other hand He imports a conception absolutely and entirely foreign to contemporary Jewish minds.

To begin with. He takes the further step of identifying the apocalyptic figure with Himself. The Son of Man of His allusions may be conceived of by Him in the first instance as a third person; the conjecture is, indeed, well founded that the further step

¹ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

² *Ibid.*, p. 198.

of identification was not actually taken until later stages of the Ministry. But at length hesitation ceases; then He gives it to be understood that the Messiahship He claims is in terms of the Son of Man. Sharp is the contrast with the conditions of His earthly life. But the Kingdom is still future, and so, by consequence, is His Messiahship. As Son of Man, therefore, He has yet to be fully revealed, however speedily, to the gaze of men.

Secondly. It might, perhaps, be safe to postulate two stages in the Messianic activity of Jesus—"the one prophetic and the other judicial and royal"; to add: "between the two lay death."¹ In any case "He conceives of Himself as destined to suffer and die, as well as triumph, in His character of Son of Man."² The recorded, and highly detailed, predictions of the Passion are, no doubt, to some extent the amplifications of an after day; yet in substance, in regard to the main fact, it is impossible to do otherwise than regard them as genuine utterances of Jesus. It might be sooner or it might be later; the fact remains that the Messiahship He conceives of and He claims is felt by Him to necessitate His death. Not thereby will His work be wrecked; on the contrary His death is regarded by Him as essential to His glorification and means for bringing in the Kingdom of God.³

No such idea had ever entered Jewish minds. There are, no doubt, traces of a belief in the efficacy of martyr deaths suffered by the righteous for no sin of their own;⁴ but the conception of a suffering

¹ Shailer Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

² Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

³ J. Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁴ Pfeiderer, *op. cit.*, i. p. 73.

Messiah is scarcely met with until the second century of the Christian era;¹ a time indeed came when room was made for two Messiahs, the one the triumphant Son of David, the other, Messiah Son of Joseph, vanquished in conflict with the foe.² But to return to the days of Jesus; that the thought of Judaism had anywhere turned to a Messiah who must die—and die withal a shameful death—is not only incapable of proof but is diametrically opposed to the evidence at command.³ The two conceptions of “a crucified Messiah, and a Messiah whose history should consist of two parts—the first part an ordinary, human life ending in a shameful death; the second a later, yet unfulfilled appearance in heavenly glory” are “both of them conceptions unknown to Judaism.”⁴ Or again; “suffering and death are the very opposite of all that is looked for in the Jewish Messiah”;⁵ and that being so it might well appear incredible that the first disciples should have dared to identify the

¹ Cf. Schürer, *op. cit.*, II. ii. pp. 184 ff.; *D.B.*, iii. 354. “Jewish Exegesis . . . sought . . . to hold aloof from the thought of a suffering Messiah” (Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, i. p. 21).

² Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 218; Wünsche, *Die Leiden des Messias*; Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias*; *E.B.*, iii. 3063; Hastings, *D.B.*, iii. 355.

³ Mk. viii. 32. The idea of a suffering and a dying Messiah is not only foreign but repugnant in the highest degree to Peter; hence his rebuke to Jesus. “In St. John xii. 34 it is just the strangeness of this new conception of a Messiah who was to suffer death, that makes the people ask, Who is this Son of Man? We have heard of the law that the Christ abideth for ever” (Charles, *Enoch*, p. 317 : 309 in new ed.). So with Peter and the rest; “ein sterbender Messias war in ihren Augen ein Unding, ein Skandal” (Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 196).

⁴ Montefiore, i. p. xc.

⁵ *E.B.*, ii. 1887.

Crucified with the Messiah-King,¹ for where, apart from the Gospel narratives and the Pauline Epistles, is it possible to discover the notion of a *crucified* Christ? ²

To sum up under this head.

Alike with Jesus and with Judaism generally a personal Messiah is associated with the Kingdom of God. In each case a conspicuous rôle is assigned to him. That he has yet to be revealed is a conviction thus far common that, in the one case, he is still looked for, while, in the other, the Messiahship conceived of is hereafter to be attained to the full. In so far as Jewish expectations centre, on the one hand, on the traditional Davidic King, Jesus, if He does not altogether stand aloof, goes near to refuse assent; wherein He agrees is mainly in the conception of the righteous King who, meek and lowly of heart and interpreting Kingship of a royalty of service, reigns over a holy people while he himself is responsible to God; where, on the other hand, Jewish minds are primarily fixed on the "eschatological" Messiah, Jesus points in the same direction in that He makes use of the apocalyptic designation Son of Man, and in its significance, not of a Kingdom of the Saints,³ but of one

¹J. Weiss, *Christus*, p. 5; cf. Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

²Thornhill, in *The Inquirer*, 12th Feb., 1910. Yet the conception of a dying God (Attis, Adonis, etc.) is prominent in later phases of Greek mythology, though the soteriological significance thereof may be not unconnected with Christian influences. Cf. Brückner, *Der sterbende und auferstehende Gottheiland*; Jacoby, *Die antiken Mysterienreligionen und das Christentum*, p. 8; E. Bevan, 'The Gnostic Redeemer,' *H.J.*, xi. pp. 137 ff.

³"Jesus employed the term Son of Man in the symbolic sense in which it is used in Dan. vii. as an emblem of the Kingdom of righteousness to be established by a great divine manifestation among a holy

in human form who is pre-existent in the heavens. Thus far and no further the resemblance ; then Jesus goes His own way, and here Judaism positively declines to follow. To begin with, the claim laid by Him to the Messiahship is disallowed and rejected. And again ; identifying Himself with the apocalyptic Son of Man, He nevertheless parts company from Judaism in so far as it identified the miraculous personage who should descend from heaven with the national King of tradition who was to destroy the Gentiles.¹ Once more ; He gives "a new character to the conception of the Christ when to His acceptance of His disciples' faith in Him, as such, He linked the distinct announcement of His approaching sufferings (Mk. viii. 27 ff. and parallels, Mk. x. 35-45 = Mt. xx. 20-28)";²—Judaism cannot tolerate the idea of a Messiah who suffers and goes to His death. With Jesus His death, whatever else it signifies, is prelude to His exaltation. As the Son of Man in glory He is Himself to be both Judge and King.

The contrasts, then, are sharp. Jesus adopts, indeed, an ancient title ; at the same time He so completely transforms its content and significance that it ceases to be occasion of surprise that His claim is decisively rejected ; the men who saw Him in all the lowliness of His earthly life might well

people." So Estlin Carpenter in the 2nd ed. of *The First Three Gospels* (p. 398), and to the same effect Bp. Moorhouse in the pamphlet already cited. But the conclusion apparently disappears from the "People's Edition" of Dr. Carpenter's work, while we read (p. 390) that "Jesus looked for the speedy entrance of the eternal agencies of truth and equity, mercy and peace, into the scene of Israel's life when the world's selfishness and violence would pass away."

¹ Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 176.

² *D.B.*, iii. 356.

argue: "Not so would the Son of David appear to claim His own."¹ If only in respect of the Messiahship He claimed He could scarcely be otherwise than unintelligible to the Judaism of His day;² nor is the conjecture altogether far-fetched that His adoption of the title meant for Him "a heavy burden which He bore in silence almost to the end of His life";³ there is certainly room for the question: "Why did He play with such a dangerous term";⁴ again, it might fairly be asked: Was the Messiahship really essential to His work?⁵ In any case it is true to say that "Between the Messiah of the Jews and the Son of Man who came not to be ministered to but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many, there was on the surface little resemblance; and from their standpoint the Pharisees reasoned not amiss that the marks of the Messiah were conspicuously absent from this Christ."⁶

¹ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. lxxxix.

² "Niemand kann diesen Messias begreifen" (von Soden, *op. cit.*, p. 69). "Wenn man dem Worte die Bedeutung lässt in der es allgemein verstanden wurde, so ist Jesus also allerdings nicht der Messias gewesen und hat es auch nicht sein wollen" (Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 380).

³ Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 180.

⁴ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 263.

⁵ Cf. P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu*, ii. p. 167.

⁶ *E.B.*, iii. 3063; cf. Holtzmann, *Das messian. Bewusstsein Jesu*, p. 49.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PERSON OF JESUS.

THE comparison instituted in the preceding chapter was between the Messianic hopes of Judaism in the opening decades of the Christian era and the Eschatological beliefs and conceptions which appear to have been those of a certain Palestinian Jew who figured on the stage of contemporary history ; that is, of Jesus Himself.

Is it possible to stop short at a description of Jesus which, neither invidious in itself nor in the manner of its use, has hitherto served the purpose ?

The description is accurate—as far as it goes. There is proof, strong to conviction, of the historical existence of Jesus. That the scene in which He lives and moves and speaks and acts from first to last is Palestine is beyond question. He is emphatically a Jew.¹ Jewish His birthplace,² His parentage, His education. Jewish the literature in which He is

¹ “Er war Jude” (Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 31).

² Whether Bethlehem, Nazareth, or, if the latter place be in doubt, some other point in Galilee. See Cheyne’s discussion of the vexed question of Nazareth in *E.B.*, iii. 3358 ff. : “In the earliest form of the evangelical tradition Jesus was said to have been born in Bethlehem-Nazareth (=Bethlehem of Galilee).” And see also *J.T.S.*, xiv. p. 475.

evidently steeped. Thoroughly at home in Jewish Synagogue and Temple worship, He is equally at home in Jewish households. Jewish feeling is strong in Him. Limiting His activities to Israel He asserts His membership in the Jewish nation, and no one holds it in doubt.¹ It is the very bitterness of His soul that, whether at Nazareth or Capernaum or Jerusalem, He and His message are set at naught and rejected by His own people.

The description is accurate; is it an adequate description? Scarcely so. Looking to the manner and the matter of His discourses and allusions, the thought at once occurs that the Jesus of the preceding inquiry and comparison, Palestinian Jew though He be, is, in any case, a personage of whom far more must be said. The question is prompted by Himself: Who and what was Jesus?²

It is no new question. Raised in His very presence by disciples³ and by foes;⁴ raised, who can doubt it, by Himself;⁵ no long time elapses before, whether from internal or external necessity, it is faced and grappled with by primitive Christianity.⁶ It is conspicuous in successive crises of the Church's life;⁷ and the fierce stir of controversy engendered by it ever testifies to a relatively clear perception of the momentous issues involved; the retrospect being only of the past century, it is the outstanding feature

¹ Weidel, *Jesu Persönlichkeit*, p. 35.

² "Wer war Jesus? Wer wollte er sein?" Barth., *op. cit.*, p. 240; Weidel, *Jesu Persönlichkeit*, p. 7.

³ Mk. iv. 41.

⁴ Lk. v. 21.

⁵ Mk. viii. 27 ff.

⁶ Thus in the case of Paul and of the Fourth Evangelist.

⁷ As seen in the history of the Creeds.

of incessant critical research.¹ As in a recent and a remote past, so to-day; the well-nigh perennial question thrusts itself with renewed importunity upon many anxious minds; "the supreme figure of the Saviour" is once more "summoned by the critics to their judgment seat." Nor is there prospect that the question will speedily be laid to rest: "Among the problems of the future there can be no doubt that the central place will be occupied by the problem of the PERSON OF CHRIST."²

The acknowledged problem, together with the absorbing interest which gathers round the problem, has a twofold significance which we pause to remark.

In the first place. Men have sought to solve the problem. They make their repeated attempts to fathom the mysterious personality of Jesus; they labour to formulate definitions which shall satisfy the intellect and the heart; relatively they achieve some measure of success. Yet it is only relatively; sooner or later it is felt that, destitute of permanent validity, solution and formula which embodies solution are alike inadequate, and that the problem still remains. The fresh solution is attempted; again the "elusiveness" of Jesus is realized; once more it becomes apparent that He positively refuses to be defined in

¹It is no small merit of Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (E. T., *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*) that it offers a characteristically graphic survey of the course of criticism as applied to the figure of Jesus from about 1774—when fragments of the writings of Reimarus (*Wolfenbütteler Fragmente eines Unbekannten*) were issued by Lessing—to 1901, when Wrede issued his *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*. In his second edition Dr. Schweitzer takes account of English scholarship.

²A. W. Robinson, *Are We Making Progress?* p. 19.

terminology of earthly coinage. His real greatness affirms itself in each repeated failure which betokens human incapacity to comprehend His being and to interpret Him aright.¹

Secondly. With the situation as it has been, is, and promises to be, there is a forcible reminder of the prophecy of the Johannine Christ.² The Jesus of the problem fascinates and attracts; He invites and compels attention to it; drawn as they are to its discussion men are irresistibly drawn to Himself. "Amidst the collapse of old forms and institutions, with the approach of a new order which, if all yearn for, none may forecast, the gaze is riveted on Jesus with an unparalleled intensity. That precisely now He has some word for us, that we precisely now have need of Him, is not so much a matter of perception as the overwhelming conviction of the inmost heart. Yet then only can He speak to us when apprehended as He really was."³ And this last sentence is tantamount to an affirmation that it is possible so to apprehend Him. The citation as a whole is in any case far removed in spirit from words which, elsewhere met with, tell of an historical Jesus who cannot be other than a stranger and an enigma to the modern world.⁴

¹ Gelderblom, *op. cit.*, p. 61. "Wer mag ihn recht deuten in seinem Wesen?" asks Naumann, *Gotteshilfe*, p. 43. Barth. (*op. cit.*, p. 268) speaks of "ein Geheimnis . . . welches sich menschlichem Nachdenken doch niemals völlig erschliessen werde." Thus Feine (*op. cit.*, p. 19): "Bis in das Heiligtum des Selbstbewusstseins Jesu vorzudringen, wird keiner Forschung gelingen."

² Jn. xii. 32.

³ Wernle, *Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, p. 1.

⁴ Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

Who and what was Jesus? Such is the question proposed; let us at all events look into it. The *crux*, the problem, must remain.

To begin with. The Jesus of the earliest representation is, if nothing else, a man. Arrived at manhood when He comes upon the scene, He is implied to be of human parentage.¹ It is plain from the narrative that, conscious of physical needs² and stirred by manifold emotions,³ experiences common to humanity are shared by Him to the full. Like unto "any other contemporary Galilean" "His bodily organism discharged the same ordinary functions and ministered to the life of the soul in the same ordinary way. He had the same sensations of pleasure and pain, of distress and ease, of craving and satisfaction."⁴ Sore temptation is encountered; and He, resisting, nevertheless feels its strength.⁵ Dark hours come to Him. As seen in the Garden

¹ Mk. iii. 21, 31. If Clemen's caution deserts him when (*op. cit.*, p. 226; see his Note *in loc.* in the English translation of his valuable work) he definitely refers the "He is beside himself" to Mary, a conjecture that she did so express herself might nevertheless have been ventured by him. The section Mk. vi. 1-3, again, is to the point; while it is certainly remarkable (*S.N.T.*, i. p. 337) that with the later synoptists the allusion is to "the carpenter's son" (Mt. xiii. 55), "Joseph's son" (Lk. iv. 22). The phrases "his father and his mother," "his parents" (Lk. ii. 33, 41, 43, cf. 48), it might be added, are used without scruple (cf. Jn. vi. 42).

² Mk. ii. 15, iv. 38. ³ Mk. iii. 5, vi. 6, 34, viii. 12, ix. 19, x. 14, 21.

⁴ Sanday, *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, p. 179.

⁵ Mk. i. 12 f.; cf. Heb. iv. 15. "Unsere Quellen lassen keinen Zweifel daran, dass Reizungen zu sündlichen Regungen auch an ihn herangetreten sind." So Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 30; but cf. Barth., *op. cit.*, p. 255. Rawlinson (*Foundations*, p. 368) writes: "It was not that our Lord *could* not sin, but that He *would* not."

of Gethsemane His heart quails within Him ; what He says to others holds true of Himself, as the weakness of the flesh is momentarily revealed in terror-stricken eagerness to escape His fate.¹

This Palestinian Jew, then, is a real man.² Yet He is no ordinary man ; on the contrary, He is great with no ordinary greatness. No appeal is needed to stories which lie in the region of the miraculous when there is so much in the way of ordinary event and occurrence to testify to the marvellous influence possessed and exerted by Him on the minds of men. He compels to obedience with the spoken word.³ His fame spreads ;⁴ stir and movement follow in His steps ; astounding some,⁵ He fires the applause of others ;⁶ that He is a force to be reckoned with is witnessed to by the resentment and hostility He incurs.⁷ He stands out conspicuously as a born teacher. His style captivates ; luminous and incisive in His utterances, His eloquence is combined with a most intense conviction ; while His words are suffused with the enthusiasm of a great idealist, He is altogether free from the hare-brained restlessness of the enthusiast or the mental narrowness of the fanatic, He is evidently far removed from the dry quibbling of the schools.⁸ If in nothing else, He is

¹ Mk. xiv. 32-42.

² So, yet not without ambiguity, Paul ; Phil. ii. 7 f. "Man wird hierin unschwer die Keime des späteren 'Doketismus' erkennen" (J. Weiss, *Christus*, p. 63).

³ Mk. i. 16-20, ii. 14.

⁴ Mk. i. 37, 47, ii. 1.

⁵ Mk. i. 22, 27.

⁶ Mk. ii. 12.

⁷ Mk. iii. 6, v. 17, xi. 18, xiv. 1.

⁸ Arno Neumann, *Jesus*, pp. 76 f.

original in His quick perception of essentials and His gift of combination. Assuredly He is a religious genius. His God-consciousness is remarkable; "His whole life, all His thoughts and feelings, were absorbed in the relation to God";¹ it follows that, as the records imply, He "knows the very heart of God as man has never yet known it,"² and that, absorbed in His mission, He strives to "call into life in the souls of others the treasure of His own soul."³ He is, then, rightly described as "a great and inspired personality."⁴ Not without truth is it said of Him: "He towers above His fellow men."⁵ Named in the same breath with Confucius and Buddha, Socrates and Kant, He constrains the more qualified but ungrudging admission: "one of the greatest thinkers in the history of the race,"⁶ and this, again, is true in part. Inadequately, not to say erroneously, conceived of as the philosopher of Nazareth, He is better described as the prophet;⁷ and, as such, an honoured place is assigned to and demanded for Him in modern Jewish admiration.⁸ As "great religious and

¹ Harnack, *What is Christianity?* p. 35.

² Wernle, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

³ von Soden, *Early Christian Literature*, p. 3. Cf. Arnold Meyer, *Jesus or Paul?* p. 69.

⁴ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. 181. Cf. Ninck, *Jesus als Charakter*, p. 332.

⁵ Wernle, *ibid.*

⁶ Schneider, *Jesus als Philosoph*, 5.

⁷ "Er war eben kein Philosoph, sondern Prophet" (Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 27). Cf. Lk. xxiv. 19. "The truth is that as the resemblance between the earliest Christian Church and a philosophical school is delusive, so is the resemblance between Christ himself and any Greek philosopher" (*Ecce Homo*). Cf. Weidel, *Jesu Persönlichkeit*, p. 17.

⁸ Montefiore, *op. cit.*, i. p. cvii; *The Religious Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 14 ff.

ethical hero of unrivalled purity”¹ He has it in Him to be, and He is, “leader of humanity to God.”²

Such, it is argued, is the impression made, if not directly by Jesus Himself, in any case by records which are the early result of “the impression which He made upon His disciples, and which they transmitted.”³ Is He not the greatest spiritual force that the world has ever known? Truly yes. Only such He might be, and yet nowhere outstep the limits of the purely human. In that case He is justly entitled to admiration and far more than admiration; to the devoted love of men, to the world’s lasting reverence. Pending the arrival on the scene of some personage who in spiritual insight and force transcends Him, He might justly claim the practical recognition of an uplifting influence. Obedience to a reiterated “Follow me” might fitly be demanded by Him; and, whensoever yielded, issue in a great moral and spiritual reward.

Yet there is one claim which by no possibility could He advance, nor which, if actually advanced, could possibly be conceded; the claim to the adoring worship of His fellow-men.⁴

He is nevertheless object of worship. And if it be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, that He, real man and towering above

¹ Arno Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

² Bousset, *Jesus*, pp. 102 f.

³ Harnack, *What is Christianity?* p. 31.

⁴ Plummer (*S. Matthew*, p. xxiv.) remarks on, and A. Drews (*The Christ Myth*, pp. 226, 293) makes sarcastic allusion to, a readiness on the part of certain “Liberal” theologians to prostrate themselves before a Jesus who is reduced to the common measures of humanity.

His fellows, is mere man, then altogether irrationally and impiously so. The Jesus-worship which has obtained, and which obtains,¹ is in that case based on some tremendous error of which the Christianity of a no distant future will be heartily ashamed.

On the other hand, "the conscience that has sunk itself in Christianity" may have been guided by a true instinct in its persistent refusal "to think of Christ merely as man."²

But is this really the case?

The dilemma is proposed: Either Jesus was a dreamer, a visionary, or He was something more than a gifted and inspired man.³ The former alternative may be at once rejected: granted the ecstatic moment, the soul rapt in contemplation, the pictured something better which is bound to come, there is all the difference in the world between Jesus and the Apocalypticist; His interests are practical, His outlook is healthy, His concern is with reality.⁴ It is, then, impossible to reckon Him but the dreamer, the enthusiast of His day.⁵ The second alternative

¹ In any case exception may be taken to both substance and form of many a "Jesus-hymn" which still enjoys popularity.

² Sanday, *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, p. 174.

³ "Entweder er war ein Träumer, oder er war noch mehr als ein genialer Mensch" (Naumann, *op. cit.*, p. 248).

⁴ "Jesus ist das Urbild eines gesunden Menschen" (Ninck, *Jesus als Charakter*, p. 348). The question of the sanity of Jesus is now discussed by Schweitzer in his characteristic and interesting monograph: *Die psychiatrische Beurteilung Jesu*.

⁵ It may be admitted that Schweitzer "does not, like so many critics, seek to reduce the Person of Christ to the common measures of humanity" (Sanday, *Life of Christ in Recent Research*, p. 88); yet the feeling remains that "describe Him with what glowing enthusiasm he

remains ; if so be that He is something more than a gifted and inspired man, Jesus surely outsteps the limits of the purely human. Mere man, that is, He cannot be. And if mere man He is not, what is He? He who, whatever else He be, is real man.

It is the *crux* of the whole question. "There is a want of creative power," it has been said, in the "early Christians. They have experienced something altogether abnormal in Jesus, but in order to express it their own words fail them. So they turn to the Jewish categories nearest at hand and attempt to confine the indefinable within these definitions. After all, how very petty are these first thoughts about Jesus compared with the deeds of Jesus Himself and His own inner life."¹ True, generally speaking, of the period to which it refers, the statement, *mutatis mutandis*, is by no means destitute of point when transferred to the present day. That there is something altogether abnormal in Jesus is a very real experience. Creative power is absent ; as in the past, so now, words at once adequately expressive and in ordinary use are not at command ; there is resort to earlier categories ; again the indefinable refuses to be confined within attempted definition. Petty are the thoughts about Jesus as compared with Jesus Himself. Great with a greatness which is unique, He still eludes the grasp.

So it was said at the outset, and so it may be said again, with truth. There is this "elusiveness" on the part of Jesus ; challenging definition He

may, the author (viz. Schweitzer) depicts Jesus as a deluded enthusiast" (Ffrench, *H.J.*, ix. p. 206).

¹ Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, i. p. 147.

refuses to be defined.¹ May it not be said also, and with equal truth, that the historical Jesus is unable, and is conscious of inability, to define Himself?

By no manner of means could it be said of the Johannine Christ. The soul-portrait painted by the Fourth Evangelist is indeed of "sweet, unearthly beauty," and it may be that in his wondrous picture he gives "the true religious import of that sacred Life"; his Christ is nevertheless "the glorious object of his spiritual vision,"² and scarcely the historical Jesus. Not that the Manhood is entirely obliterated; on the contrary, it is expressly and pointedly affirmed in the majestic prologue;³ yet it becomes fainter, not to say a shadowy thing.⁴ Involuntarily, perhaps, the Evangelist sets it aside; yielding to the greater attraction of the divine,⁵ his thought is primarily of a mighty superhuman being who demands recognition of divine Sonship,⁶ and who moves about on earth as God incarnate.⁷ There is no hint whatsoever at stages of development in the great figure of the Johannine canvas. Unchanged from first to last the Johannine Christ, omniscient and omnipotent, is no problem to Himself. That which He knows Himself

¹ "He could not indeed be brought under any formula" (Arnold Meyer, *Jesus or Paul?* p. 71).

² von Soden, *Early Christian Literature*, pp. 416 f.

³ Jn. i. 14.

⁴ Jn. iv. 6, xi. 35, xix. 28, 34.

⁵ "Ihn zieht nur das Göttliche an. Ja, dies geht so weit, dass das Menschliche in Jesus stärker bei Seite gesetzt wird als der Evangelist selbst will" (Schmiedel, *Das Vierte Evangelium*, p. 122). Otherwise J. Weiss, *Christus*, p. 85.

⁶ Cf. Weinle, *St. Paul, the Man and his Work*, p. 320.

⁷ "Ein über die Erde wandelnder Gott" (Schmiedel, *op. cit.*, p. 123).

to be He says that He is: "One with God He has shared the divine glory, He had come down from heaven in all the fullness of divine knowledge and might, He is about to return speedily to the throne on high."¹ He speaks of Himself and His Father in the same breath.² Recognizing distinction³ He proclaims His oneness with the Father.⁴ The very climax is reached when He accepts the great confession: "My Lord and my God."⁵

But if the Christ of the Fourth Evangelist be never at a loss with regard to, and to disclose, His own identity, the case is otherwise with the Jesus of the Synoptic representation; the fact notwithstanding that even the earliest Evangelist sets out from an already definite Christology.⁶

On the one hand, the Synoptic Jesus is, and knows Himself to be, true man. As has been seen already, features common to the race are shared by

¹ Bretschmieder, *Probabilia*, p. 2.

² Jn. v. 17.

³ Jn. xiv. 28, xvii. 3. So Jn. i. 1. "Der Logos bleibt durchaus von Gott geschieden; er ist nicht *ὁ θεός*" (*H.B.N.T.*, II. ii. p. 9).

⁴ Jn. x. 30, xiv. 9, xvii. 21. "Alle Formen der apostolischen Lehre haben ihren Kernsatz in der Einheit Jesu mit Gott, die durch die Unterordnung Jesu unter Gott entsteht" (Schlatter, *Theol. des N.T.*, p. 473).

⁵ Jn. xx. 28. Yet the *ὁ θεός μου* needs to be read in connection with the *θεός ᾧν ὁ λόγος* of i. 1, and again suggests a distinction between Him who is addressed by Thomas and the *ὁ θεός* of the Prologue (*ὁ λόγος ᾧν πρὸς τὸν θεόν*). Cf. *H.B.N.T.*, II. ii. p. 183.

⁶ "Dass der Evangelist von einer bestimmten Christologie ausgeht, ist gewiss" (J. Weiss, *Christus*, p. 74). If Wrede goes too far when he writes: "Es muss offen gesagt werden: Markus hat keine wirkliche Anschauung mehr vom geschichtlichen Leben Jesu," he says with truth: "Denn das leidet keinen Zweifel, sein Zweck war ja eben der, Jesus mit seiner Schrift als Sohn Gottes zu schildern und zu erweisen" (*Messiasgeheimnis*, pp. 129, 125).

Him. It is plain that He disavows omniscience.¹ His knowledge limited, so are His powers;² so is His authority;³ absolute moral perfection, if predicated of Him by others, is not admitted by Himself: "Why callest thou me good? none is good save one, even God."⁴ In His own eyes He is the preacher.⁵ In that He realizes the necessity of prayer,⁶ He owns His entire dependence on the God to whom He prays. Significantly does He refer to the supreme authority of God, the things of God, the omnipotence of God.⁷ His disciples are urged by Him to have faith in God.⁸ Unhesitating is His enunciation of the "first commandment" with its emphasis on the love due solely to Him Who, being "one," is "Lord."⁹ It is to God and God alone that, according to Jesus, men must bow the knee: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." Thus speaking (as it may be conjectured that He spoke in the hearing of

¹ Mk. v. 30, ix. 21, xiii. 32.² Mk. vi. 5.³ Mk. x. 40.

⁴ Mk. x. 17, 18, Lk. xviii. 18, 19. The First Evangelist (Mt. xix. 16, 17), taking offence at the Marcan report, permits himself an alteration which amounts to positive distortion. Yet Dr. Winnington Ingram, in answer to a presumed anxious inquirer, glibly remarks: "Jesus was reminding the young man that there was only one source of goodness—God. The emphasis in the Greek was not on the 'Me' at all. It should rather be, why speakest thou to me about 'good'?" (*Guardian*, March 24th, 1911). It would have been to the advantage of both parties had the Bishop of London sought guidance from Dr. Chase. Cf. *C.T.E.*, p. 387.

⁵ Mk. i. 38.⁶ Mk. i. 35, vi. 46.⁷ Mk. vii. 9, viii. 33, x. 27, xii. 24.⁸ Mk. xi. 22.

⁹ Mk. xii. 29, 30. In the Lucan parallel (Lk. x. 25 ff.) the noble summary of the Law is placed in the lips, not of Jesus, but of the questioner.

His disciples),¹ He implicitly deprecates any offering of worship—"contemplation with joy, reverence, and sense of mystery in combination"²—to Himself. In short, now in one way and now in another the Synoptic Jesus reveals a consciousness of His humanity. He seems to say—and not only in effect: "I Myself am man."

But there is another side to the question. While, on the one hand, Jesus takes His stand on the side of humanity,³ so, on the other hand, He appears to range Himself over against men on the ground of a relation to God.⁴ A conviction, whensoever born, is strong in Him that the relation in which He stands to God is unique in kind.

Is it not just here that He becomes a problem to Himself? The problem remains with Him. He struggles to define to Himself, and to express to others, Who and What He is: He Who is, all the same, profoundly conscious of some unique relationship to God. And that such is the case is perhaps evidenced by the recorded Saying: "I have a baptism to be baptised with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished?"⁵ On the assumption that the Synoptic Jesus thus spoke, He Himself reveals the situation. But if not, it was assuredly grasped by the psychologist who placed the words in His lips.

"Straitened." Because "straitened," eager for the moment when death would be emancipator. "Straitened;" as yet bound by limitations, subject as yet

¹ Mt. iv. 10=Lk. iv. 8. The expanded narratives of the Temptation (cf. Mk. i. 12, 13) are possibly traceable to Jesus in substance.

² Bertrand Russell, *H.J.*, xi. p. 52.

³ Mk. iii. 35.

⁴ Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

⁵ Lk. xii. 50. ✓

—and avowing Himself subject—to conditions that fetter and imprison Him,¹ Jesus is an enigma to Himself. He is greater than He knows; better, perhaps, to say that, knowing Himself more than mere man, peculiarly related to God, human and nevertheless divine, the precise “Who and What He is,” by reason of His limitations, is beyond His power of comprehension. By consequence it is beyond His power of adequate expression. There are, no doubt, some things which, firmly convinced of, He can positively affirm; and it may be that one of them is His divine origin;² without hesitation it can be said that another is His divine Sonship.³ He is persuaded that He can forgive sins.⁴ His own importance is clear to Him, and He accentuates it.⁵ He is conscious of an authority which is evidently not of man.⁶ If it be safe to refer the saying to Him, He can speak of Himself and God in the same breath;⁷ therein nearing the Johannine Christ. That, not mere man, He is other than the angels He definitely asserts; yet in the self-same saying He as definitely subordinates Himself to God.⁸ He knows that He is entitled to bind men together by a rite which binds them to Himself;⁹

¹ Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 229 f., 242.

² Mk. i. 38; cf. Lk. iv. 43. Yet it is possible that the allusion is simply to a departure from the house.

³ Mk. i. 11. The experience at the Baptism may have been related by Himself.

⁴ Mk. ii. 10.

⁵ Mk. viii. 35, ix. 39, x. 29, xiv. 6.

⁶ Mk. xi. 29, 33.

⁷ Mt. xxiii. 9, 10.

⁸ Mk. xiii. 32. According to Schmiedel (*E.B.*, ii. 1881; see Preface to A. Neumann's *Jesus*), one of the “absolutely credible passages.”

⁹ Mk. xiv. 22 ff. To what extent, if at all, He contemplated a repetition of the rite is a question which cannot here be discussed.

yet in the very act He establishes it that God and God's Kingdom are supreme in His thoughts. It appears that He can positively invite a charge of blasphemy; and high claims are involved in it.¹ He makes no secret of assurance that a place is reserved for Him "at the right hand of power."² Not mere man, superior to the angels,³ of divine Sonship, one with God yet distinct from God, the mystery of His being is, then, beyond His power to solve. He attempts a solution—conscious, it may be, that the mystery is not only unsolved but heightened—when a borrowed phrase is adopted by Him; reluctantly, ambiguously, applied to Himself. "The Lord of the Spirits" He is not. Superhuman being that He feels Himself to be, He is, or is destined to be revealed as, the glorious, pre-existent, Son of Man.

The Synoptic Jesus, "straitened" as He Himself affirms, or as the penetration of the psychologist discerns Him to be, is elusive of His own grasp. Profound is His consciousness that there is "something altogether abnormal" about His personality. Yet along with it, and by reason of His earthly limitations, there is the consciousness of a "want of creative power"; words fail Him to express what, as time goes on, He feels Himself to be. Then He too turns to "categories nearest at hand"; thereby confining the indefinable within definitions perhaps altogether inadequate to His own mind.

¹ Mk. xiv. 61 ff.

² *Ibid.*

³ Is Clemen (*Der geschichtliche Jesus*, p. 104) justified in the assertion that the Saying Mk. xiii. 32, proves "dass sich Jesus mit den Engeln zusammenstellte"?

Is the conjecture too venturesome that the pregnant Saying which tells of fresh wine-skins needed lest the new wine should burst the old¹ was wrung from the deepest, and abiding, experiences of One who was "straitened" throughout His earthly life?

It is not, perhaps, altogether rash to add that, if Jesus be unable to define Himself, "the problem of the Person of Christ" is beyond the capacity of human intellect to solve. Not without reason is it asked: "is it allowable to transform a problem into an article of faith?"²

But to sum up.

With Jesus we are confronted with an unique personality. A double-sidedness (*Doppelseitigkeit*), it is said, must be reckoned with;³ to reduce it to a formula is a task which men, rightly essaying, will ever discover that it still remains undone. And, no doubt, it holds good that the "white" of the divinity and the "black" of the manhood refuse to be blended into "grey" when the question at issue is "the nature of Jesus Christ."⁴

There is room for an exalted Christology. It may conceivably be other than the Christology of ancient Creeds; quite possibly it will differentiate between Him to Whom it points and statements which, relative

¹ Mk. ii. 22=Mt. ix. 17=Lk. v. 37 f.

² Lobstein, *H.J.*, xi. p. 72.

³ Feine, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 29.

⁴ Burkitt, *Two Addresses*, p. 38. "Our real policy is to emphasise fearlessly both sides at once" (Sanday, *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, p. 211). Temple (*Foundations*, 223) writes: "Somehow or other He must be 'Perfect God or Perfect Man.'" He adds (251): "There is a sense, no doubt, in which we must say that something less than the whole Godhead is revealed in Christ." And see Tyrrell, *Christianity at the Cross-Roads*, p. 80 f.

to Him, are of secondary importance ; it will nevertheless keep to the path marked out by formularies which have served their day.¹ It may demur to the expression "God the Son,"² while it insists on uniqueness of relationship by allusions to the "Son of God." Perchance, mindful of the example of its theme, it will point to the Father in respect of the offering of prayer ; eliminating mere "Jesus-worship," it will surely respond to the cravings of men who know themselves to be "only an incident in the vaster creative process" by dwelling on a revelation incarnate of the God behind.³ The affirmation will, in whatever tones, be rung out : Not mere man, not mere Jewish Messiah, Jesus is Lord.

Yet there is the other side. There can be no weakening of the Manhood ; it must be kept to the front and accentuated. "Worship your Lord and Master : he that hath seen Him hath seen the Father, but remember that 'God made Man' means more than God come down from heaven to inhabit a human body. It means that Jesus of Nazareth was a real man, with a real human mind and will, with all the natural limitations of a human being."⁴

It is this Jesus of Nazareth who—with much else to say,⁵ and bequeathing an ethic of abiding signi-

¹ "Upon the path of the old Creeds we must remain ; satisfied with them we cannot be" (Harnack, *Thoughts on Protestantism*, p. 59).

² In the Litany and Catechism.

³ Cf. *Voluntas Dei*, p. 202.

⁴ Burkitt, *Two Addresses*, p. 38.

⁵ "Er sprach in ungezwungenem Wechsel über dies und über das, je nach Gelegenheit und Bedürfnis aus seinem Schatze hervorholend, was ihm der Geist eingab und was die Leute brauchen konnten" (Wellhausen, *J.J.G.*, p. 374).

ficance¹—discourses, as in a preceding chapter He has been heard to discourse, of The Last Things.

He is born to low estate. It may be, doubt notwithstanding, that ~~one or other~~ of "His parents" is of the royal blood ;² the family in which He, the eldest child,³ is reared and grows up belongs to what to-day would be spoken of as the ~~lower middle-class~~. The domestic atmosphere is wholesome. Conjugal attachment between Joseph and Mary is evidently strong ; their piety is genuine and simple-hearted ; they are punctilious in the observance of their religious duties ; strict disciplinarians, they exact instant obedience from their first-born son,⁴ they watch over His infancy and boyhood, His ripening intelligence, with wise parental care. He learns His first lessons at His mother's knee ; alive to paternal duties Joseph takes part in preparing Him for the eventful day, when arrived at the age of twelve years, He, like every Jewish boy, becomes a "son of the Law." Other education He has none save that received at the

¹ If many of the Sayings must be explained by exigencies of the moment, the case is different with others ; and seems to militate against the theory of "a special system of ethics . . . an *Interimsethik* suited to the brief interval before the coming Kingdom, the code of a dying world," which Emmet, thus instancing, rejects (*Eschatological Question*, pp. 14, 76).

² If so it will surely be Joseph, who in any case was His legal father. The phrase "His parents" is simply taken over from the Third Evangelist, and is not here used as decisive for the *quaestio vexata* of the "Virgin-birth." Yet it shall be added that, if the evidence for the dogma be sufficient for many, it is, to say the least, not so absolutely conclusive as to justify rigorous enforcement thereof.

³ The view being adopted that the brothers and sisters of Jesus (Mk. vi. 3) were the younger children of Joseph ~~and Mary~~. Cf. Mt. i. 25.

⁴ Lk. ii. 51.

school attached to the synagogue of His native town.¹ He is taught, and He follows, Joseph's trade;² a day perhaps comes when, Joseph dead, He is head and mainstay of the widowed home. He is of a singularly reflective mind. He reads, He steeps Himself in, the sacred literature of His people;³ what He reads He ponders, yet not so as having had the training of a Rabbi. Tidings reach Him of the doings of the Baptist, and He is profoundly stirred; suspense is exchanged for certainty that the moment for action has arrived, and conscious of imparted strength, He yields Himself unreservedly to the divine Will and the divine guidance. The farewell to home is followed by the Baptism, and the Baptism by a great spiritual struggle; the "Temptation" over, and with mind clarified and mastered impulses, He enters upon His work. In the doing it He grows; intuitions come

¹ Schneider, *Jesus als Philosoph*, p. 5.

² I have thus far ventured to adapt from the article "Parents" contributed by me to Hastings' *D.C.G.*

³ "The prophetic books seem to have left a deeper impression on Jesus than the Law. . . . The influence of the 'great prophets' upon Him is unmistakable. On the other hand His Sayings do not reveal to what extent He was familiar with such Wisdom-books as Job, Ecclesiasticus, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, or whether He was at all acquainted with such works as the Psalms of Solomon, the earlier parts of Enoch and Jubilees" (N. Schmidt, *Prophet of Nazareth*, pp. 252 f.). Barth (*op. cit.*, p. 69) rightly speaks of the Old Testament as His "geistige Nahrung"; "an den Propheten und Psalmen hat sich das herangebildet, was in ihm war"; yet it is scarcely safe to add of Jewish Apocalypses: "es lässt sich nicht beweisen, das Jesus eine einzige derselben gelesen hat mit Ausnahme . . . des Buches Daniel." That the matter of the Similitudes, if not the work, was familiar to Him appears certain; He adopted "the title 'the Son of Man' from Enoch" (Charles, *Enoch*, 316—308 in new ed.). If really genuine in His lips, the Parable of the Last Judgment would afford proof to the same effect.

to Him; His perception of the divine purposes is deepened; doubt becomes assurance as to His appointed functions; the path once clearly discerned is trodden through much bitter disappointment, but with full and complete consciousness of the inevitable goal. The short-lived yet crowded ministry hurries to a close; then, not victim of an official blunder¹ but by reason of asserted claims, He goes to a death which, cruel and ignominious, is "the crown and consummation of His life."² Thus far the sketch in bare outline; yet even so there is much which is, and which will remain, mere matter of conjecture; uncertainties abound; allowance must be made for the gilding and colouring of the reporters; not without truth is it said of Jesus: "We can only see Him as He was seen by disciples of old with the eye of faith."³ But the glimpses afforded are of One who, human in His bodily organism and with a genuinely human consciousness, is child of His own race and period; whose limitations are consequently those of a far-distant past. Contemporary beliefs and conceptions are shared by Him. In respect of grasp and penetration, spiritual acumen, knowledge of God and of the human soul, He knows no equal; the case is different in respect of the learning of the Schools, and here He stands outside the more educated classes of His day. He is neither botanist⁴

¹ In the view of Schneider (*Jesus als Philosoph*, p. 6) Jesus was mistakenly identified with one of the Messianic pretenders of the period.

² Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 208.

³ Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁴ Mk. iv. 31 = Mt. xiii. 32; Mk. xi. 13. "Wenn Jesus das Senfkorn für kleiner als alle andern Samen erklärt, so ist dies botanisch geredet ein Irrtum; wenn er Feigen sucht auf einem Baume, welcher nach dem

nor naturalist,¹ nowhere does He anticipate the results of modern historical and physical research. No Biblical critic, He assumes the traditional authorship of the sacred writings of His own people, and His allusions are not always exact;² in His cosmogony He illustrates the ordinary conceptions relative to the universe of the ancient Babylonian or Hebrew world.³ It is plain, then, that He is very man. And very man He would not be were the features of humanity to be accounted for on some Kenosis-theory of "voluntary self-restraint"; of a "constant voluntary limitation imposed upon a power or a knowledge that was His by right." His limitations, not "imposed by Himself upon Himself" in His earthly life, were His in virtue of the real manhood which He shared with the race.⁴

The problem of His Person has been faced, in some sort discussed, left the problem as it was found. Let it here suffice to say that, unsolved and probably insoluble, it is suggestive, on the one hand, of exalted claims, while, on the other hand, it compels to an assertion of genuinely human restrictions. In the one case the conviction abides that He, Jesus, is rightly owned as "Lord."⁵ And in the other;

Klima der Umgebung Jerusalem's noch keine haben konnte, so ist dies klimatologisch betrachtet ein Versehen" (Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 79). But the story of the withered fig-tree may be an after-growth.

¹ Mt. viii. 20 = Lk. ix. 58. A bird does not build a nest for shelter, but as a "place where she may lay her young."

² Cf. Mk. ii. 26, 1 Sam. xxi. 1.

³ See Art. 'Cosmogony' in Hastings' *D.B.*

⁴ For some discussion of theories of the *Kenosis*, see Hastings' *D.B.*, ii. 835. Cf. *R.G.G.*, i. 1726; J. Weiss, *Christus*, pp. 52 ff.

⁵ Probably "the name which is above every name" of Phil. ii. 9.

"like unto His brethren"¹ He, Jesus, is as rightly conceived of as "a man approved of God."²

It is from this second point of view that whatever Jesus has to say, or may have said, about The Last Things can be approached, interpreted, and appraised.

He is steeped in Prophetic literature.³ That, if less at home in it, He is acquainted with Jewish Apocalyptic is a conjecture which the evidence goes so near to confirm as to make it practically certain.⁴ Ancient hopes are accepted by Him; and it is with resort to familiar imagery that He gives them expression in long-accustomed style. As for His message and His claims, they alike reveal inherited ideas and traditional conceptions; they are alike couched of necessity in that borrowed terminology which, if strange and fantastic to modern ears, was current in, and therefore intelligible to, His own age.⁵ Nor will it do to say that there is little more than formal agreement between the teaching of Jesus and the Apocalyptic hopes of His time. The agreement went further.⁶

"The form of His preaching of the Kingdom was transitory, and the husk has already shed itself."⁷ No long time elapsed before the shedding-process set in; before long the need was felt of reinterpreting the message delivered by Him "under cate-

¹ Hebs. ii. 17.

² Acts ii. 22.

³ There can be little doubt that this applies in particular to the "Songs on the Servant of Jahve."

⁴ Oesterley, *Doctrine of the Last Things*, pp. 4, 6.

⁵ "Jesu Predigt schliesst an die volkstümlichen Erwartungen seiner Zeit und Umgebung an" (Knopf, *Zukunftserwartungen*, p. 6).

⁶ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

⁷ Bousset, *Jesus*, 97.

gories of thought which had begun to lose their meaning"¹ ere the Gospels were compiled. The ancient title of His, perhaps, reluctant adoption is merged into a proper name; "no longer the Jewish Messiah"² He lives on in the lips and writings of disciples as "Jesus Christ," or "Christ Jesus." On the one hand, the "name which is above every name" bestowed on Him, He is soon acclaimed as "Lord";³ on the other hand, His own self-chosen designation (for sufficient reason)⁴ drops out of whatever use it had, and, but for a solitary instance,⁵ He is never alluded to as The Son of Man. Knowledge remains that He had actually spoken of a coming on the clouds, of resurrection and of judgment, of an hour when all that are in the graves should hear His voice;⁶ yet the day is already reached when, if the Parousia remains, it is "only an otiose feature" in the system of the Fourth Evangelist, who, dealing gently but decisively with "the simple apocalyptic faith of primitive Christianity,"⁷ lays all the stress on personal immortality, on an indwelling and abiding Christ.⁸ And again: "His own hope for the world's

¹ Scott, *ibid.* Cf. *Foundations*, p. 150.

² *Voluntas dei*, p. 167.

³ Phil. ii. 11.

⁴ The mere significance of human origin which Greek converts would naturally attach to the phrase.

⁵ Acts vii. 56. A second instance might possibly be found Mt. xxv. 31; on the hypothesis that the description of the Great Assize, not genuine in the lips of Jesus, is of the nature of a homily of the Primitive Church.

⁶ As evidenced by the Johannine writings. Cf. Feine, *op. cit.*, pp. 703 ff.

⁷ Inge.

⁸ "Ueber die Schicht der älteren Eschatologie rückt hier (viz. in the Fourth Gospel) verdeckend und verdrängend eine neue mächtige Schie-

future fell to the ground, and was replaced by another with which it had nothing in common."¹ With no thought of founding a community which should survive and grow through countless generations,² Jesus, that is, had spoken of the near advent of the Kingdom as of "a supernatural event which would be brought about by the miraculous power of God, in close connection with a marvellous outward metamorphosis of all existing circumstance."³ Yet it did not so happen; nor has it so happened. What did ensue was this: by a bold transmutation on the part of those who drank deepest of His spirit, the Kingdom of His proclamation and expectation was discovered in the Christian Church.⁴

And inasmuch as—with the proviso that, in His earthly life, He was not consciously its founder—it

bung nach, die aus hellenischen, mystisch individualistischem Hoffungsgut besteht. Nirgends findet sich etwa ausgesprochene Polemik gegen die realistische Eschatologie, aber stillschweigend wird das Alte ergänzt, zurückgewiesen, umgedeutet, ersetzt. Das Johannesevangelium verkündet die persönliche Unvergänglichkeit, die bereits in dies arme Leben hineinragt und in ihm den Tod überwindet. . . . Für die hohe, eigenartige Auffassung, die das vierte Evangelium vom Christentum hat, sind die Gedanken von dem Hall der Posaunen am jüngsten Tage, von der Hochzeit des Lammes, vom himmlischen Jerusalem überflüssig geworden" (Knopf, *op. cit.*, p. 43). Cf. Kölbing, *Bleibende Bedeutung der Urchristlichen Eschatologie*, p. 8.

¹ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 145. "Jesus had set all His hope upon witnessing with His own eyes the advent of the Kingdom" (Arnold Meyer, *Jesus or Paul?* p. 74).

² It is just here, in the circumstances naturally the case, that the author of *Ecce Homo*, as yet unsurpassed as interpreter of The Life and Work of Jesus Christ, goes too far when he explicitly refers the founding of the Christian Church to Christ's "single will and power."

³ Bousset, *Jesus*, pp. 60, 76.

⁴ So in the First Gospel.

is safe to say that Jesus "inspired the activities of His Church,"¹ it is meet and right to see in Him the Sower of His own parable² who goes forth to sow the seed of His teaching and of Himself³ in the immeasurable field of time.

¹ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

² Cf. Wellhausen, *I.J.G.*, p. 373.

³ "The best that He had to give was Himself, and this He gave continually" (Arnold Meyer, *Jesus or Paul?* p. 69).

CHAPTER VIII.

HUSK AND KERNEL.

IN these days of storm and stress, amidst the passing of an old order, when the outlook is anxious by reason of inevitable but undetermined change, the gaze of men is once more fastened on Jesus. Human souls realize that there is a very present need of Him. There are signs of an overpowering conviction that He, the real Jesus, has some great utterance for the modern world.

So we are told in effect;¹ and the strong and bold assertion, there being facts behind it, is sufficiently near to the truth. The question, then, is whether that great word of One who, if not mere man, was nevertheless real man, has been spoken, whether it be audible and intelligible? If so, what is its import?

But to narrow down discussion to our immediate subject.

Jesus has spoken. The voice of the historical Jesus is heard in recorded Sayings of which it is safe to affirm that, albeit not *ipsissima verba*, they are, in

¹ Wernle, *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*, p. 1.

large part, substantially genuine in His lips.¹ Thus speaking He is, unquestionably, concerned with a variety of topics; the matter and the manner of His discourses are not always the same; He is not for ever reiterating a call to repentance in the certainty of judgment at the door. Yet utterances are not far to seek in which the Last Things are emphatically the theme; and, it being impossible to trace them *en masse* to the pious inventiveness of the primitive Church,² some in any case must be referred to the historic Jesus. Nor will it do to explain them away by any purely figurative method of interpretation. A further decision appears unavoidable; the historic Jesus, speaking in them, means what He says. In other words, and to repeat from an early stage of our inquiry, room must be made—not exactly in the background nor yet very scanty room—for the Eschatological element in the teaching of the real Jesus.³

¹ In dissent from the sweeping assertion of D'Alviella (*L'Evolution du dogme catholique*, i. p. 253) that it is impossible to maintain that any single authentic word actually uttered by Jesus survives to us.

² That the primitive Church heightened and amplified, is, of course, allowed. Harnack (*Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, p. 173) insists on the value of Q as a check on "die Übertreibung des apokalyptisch-eschatologischen Elements in der Verkündigung Jesu." And thus Kölbing (*op. cit.*, p. 23): "Die Eschatologie der urchristlichen Gemeinde erscheint in ihrer reichen und überaus mannigfaltigen Ausgestaltung mindestens nicht durchgängig als das getreue Abbild der einfachen, rein religiösen Eschatologie Jesu."

³ "Aber auch in der Verkündigung Jesu, wie sie die synoptischen Evangelien uns übermitteln, reicht für unsern Blick das eschatologische Moment viel weiter, als man früher annahm" (Kölbing, *op. cit.*, p. 7). A view which Streeter (*Foundations*, pp. 112, 119) is now inclined to adopt.

Therein (the conjecture is not far-fetched) some great word of Jesus. Spoken, transmitted, set down as remembered, conserved in the documents which are its casket, it rings out to our modern ears. Altogether unintelligible it is not: knowledge is at any rate at command as to its content and meaning in the lips of Him who spoke it in the "straitened" condition and circumstances of His earthly life. The vital issue is: What of its import at the present day?

Here it becomes imperative to distinguish between the transitory and the permanent, between husk and kernel, in the Eschatology of Jesus.

What, then, is the husk? There can be but one answer; and it points in any case to the form in which the historic Jesus could not do otherwise than clothe His own and His inherited conceptions, not to say address Himself to the understanding of His contemporaries. On the one hand He is altogether free from the *gaucheries* into which the theology of Judaism was betrayed, and which are no infrequent feature in the Eschatology of the early Christians;¹ it is no less plain, on the other hand, that, with resort to terminology of earthly coinage, to the only material available, He said His say in the style and after the way of thinking of His locality and period. By consequence the modern reader of His utterances is continually placed by Him in a foreign world. His imagery, long since unaccustomed, fails in its appeal; as for His physical

¹ Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Weiffenbach (*Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu*, p. 373) rightly finds the utterances of Jesus "frei von aller mehr oder minder phantastischen Apokalyptik und judenchristlichen Zukunftsrechnung."

conceptions, they are those of a remote period, and are widely and strangely removed from the common-places of the knowledge of to-day ; what for Him was matter of confident expectation has not only turned out otherwise, but, in the shape in which He announced it, is absolutely inconceivable to modern minds.¹ With the men of bygone generations He deemed this earth centre of the universe ; since the days of Copernicus it has become but a mere speck in the vast ocean of space. The catastrophic ending looked for by Him has not come about ; and, while it may be that the destruction of our planet is an idea not positively rejected by the astronomer,² science points by preference to a time when, millions of years hence, and with continuous metamorphosis of its structure, it will have become a dead world, physically and chemically inert. That the resurrection, howsoever conceived of, was a fixed article of His belief is certain ;³ the belief may, and does, survive in a crude popular theology, yet it is, to say the very least, not indispensable to higher intelligences who, difficulty notwithstanding,⁴ are persuaded of the immortality of

¹ Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 96.

² Kölbing, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

³ Schneider (*Jesus als Philosoph*, p. 16) thinks otherwise, yet it is impossible to agree with him. The *ἔσχατος* of Mk. xii. 25 is surely not to be understood conditionally.

⁴ "Für die Fortdauer des Lebens nach dem Tode ist kein wissenschaftlicher Beweis zu führen, so wenig wie sich Gottes Dasein beweisen lässt. 'Gott' und 'Unsterblichkeit' sind Postulate der praktischen, nicht der theoretischen Vernunft" (Knopf, *op. cit.*, p. 62). The question : "Was sind nun aber die Beweggründe zum Glauben an eine Fortdauer der individuellen Persönlichkeit?" is proposed and well discussed by Scheibe (*Das sogenannte apos. Glaubensbekenntnis*, edited by Kautzsch, pp. 149 ff.). M'Taggart (*Some Dogmas of Religion*, p. 111)

the soul. With absolute faith in His cause, which was God's cause, He had declared "to Himself, His friends, and His foes that after His death He would return in glory as the Son of Man upon the clouds of heaven";¹ yet He did not so come.² Again and again has He been looked for so to come; the hour of His coming has been exactly or approximately foretold as very nigh at hand; the predicted moment has gone by without sound of the archangel's trump, and there has been realization of mistake; repeated prediction has been as repeatedly falsified in the event.³ He has not so come—Will He, then, yet so come? If in days of old it was asked in mockery: "where is the promise of His coming?"⁴ the religious

writes: "Yet I think that reasons for the belief in immortality may be found of such strength that they should prevail over all difficulties." The whole chapter should be read. See also Eucken, *Der Sinn und Wert des Lebens*, pp. 147 f. "The Christian Doctrine of Immortality" is discussed by Ballard (*Does not God intervene?* pp. 227 ff.).

¹ Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 192.

² Advancing along the path marked out by Schleiermacher and Weisse, Weiffenbach (*op. cit.*), with resort to an elaborate process of elimination and combination, identifies the predictions of the Coming with those of the Resurrection, and argues that, while the case was different for His disciples, Jesus could see in the fact of His Resurrection the fulfilment of His promise to return. The theory, if ingenious, is quite unconvincing. On the other hand it is curious—not by any means conclusive for the theory instanced—that no explicit reference to a Coming in the future is placed by the Evangelists in the lips of the Risen Lord. The impatient question (Acts i. 6) might be suggestive did it not belong in all likelihood to the period of His earthly life.

³ For an interesting survey of predictions relative to the coming of Christ and the end of the world, see St. Clair, *Will Christ Come?* Cf. Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

⁴ 2 Peter iii. 3, 4.

consciousness of to-day is untroubled by the question ; for, not simply content to spiritualize¹ but alive to the limitations of the earthly Jesus, it affirms that, struggling to express a deep conviction, He is constrained to fall back on modes of diction which had long been current coin. No such external coming of the Son of Man is to be looked for. Neither can there be anticipation, in regard to what is also pictured in borrowed style and phrase, of a Last Day ;² of Judgment set and books opened ; of a Kingdom which, lying "wholly in the domain of the miraculous," is to be "established by the omnipotent God" when He shall have "upheaved the heavens and the earth, raised the dead, and vanquished and destroyed the devil and all his angels."³ Yet it was of such things that Jesus thought ; of such things He was wont to speak ; for such a Kingdom His disciples were taught by Him to pray in the petition : "Thy Kingdom come."

These things, suchlike things, constitute the husk ;—the kernel they, most surely, are not. But to have done with metaphor ; the apocalyptic ideas and beliefs in which the great word—as we will still call it—of Jesus was embodied are, after all, of transitory significance. It were ill-advised to relegate them to some

¹ After the manner, *e.g.* of Emmanuel Swedenborg when, understanding the Second Coming in a spiritual sense, he said : "It is a vain thing to believe that the Lord is to appear in the clouds of heaven in person" (St. Clair, *op. cit.*, p. 20).

² The phrase, indeed, makes itself heard ; yet it is true to say with Duhm (*Das kommende Reich Gottes*, p. 11) : "an den jüngsten Tag denkt heute kein Mensch."

³ Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 81.

dark corner in a museum of antiquities ;¹ they are yet near akin to, not to say identical with, "elements which bear the imprint of a special age, and which we dare not bind to ourselves—an age which is so distant from us and which in so many ways has been outrun."² Not inaptly is it said of Messianism that it was "the nationalistic and contemporaneous incasement of the life-work of Jesus which has been long since riddled and overturned in the process of historical development: who to-day regards it as the characteristic mark of Jesus that He claimed to be the Messiah of the Jews."³

"That which is becoming old and waxeth aged is nigh unto vanishing away."⁴ As has been said already, it was ere long realized that the categories of thought under which Jesus had spoken were at once old and obsolete, unsuited to changed conditions, more calculated to repel than to attract, altogether inadequate to the needs of minds cast in specifically non-Jewish moulds. They vanish away.⁵ In particular they are gently laid aside by the "Great Unknown" who bequeaths his sublime portrait of the Johannine Christ.

¹ Scott (*op. cit.*, p. 255), far from throwing them aside as "empty and superfluous," insists that they "have a real and abiding value for Christian thought." To the same effect Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 36. It might accordingly be objected that the term "husk" is not altogether apt. Yet it serves the purpose.

² Eucken, *The Truth of Religion*, p. 339.

³ Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 36. Cf. Holtzmann, *Das messian. Bewusstsein Jesu*, p. 97; Weidel, *Jesu Persönlichkeit*, pp. 18 f.

⁴ Hebs. viii. 13.

⁵ "The word Son of Man is not essential. Paul has the idea, the expectation, of the parousia without this word" (Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, i. p. 51).

It is not enough to say of the author of the Fourth Gospel (and of St. Paul) that he "stemmed the tide, and by a counter-evolution brought back the Church to profounder and more spiritual conceptions; which, though often expressed in terms of a Hellenized philosophy foreign to the Master's own environment, surely presents some aspects of His mind which in the Synoptic Gospels are almost buried under the picturesque materialism of Jewish Eschatology."¹ Let it be frankly admitted that the statement is in large part nothing short of true; the Christian hope of the primitive Church had indeed come to find expression in a crude Apocalyptic by no means shared by Jesus, and good service was rendered by the Fourth Evangelist when he "stemmed the tide," when he purged out the materialistic dross which was altogether foreign to the Master's mind. Yet the whole truth is absent from—to say the least, inadequately expressed in—what is otherwise an altogether admirable statement of the course of development. There is need to supplement it with the assertion that the Fourth Evangelist knew full well that Apocalyptic ideas and beliefs had actually been present in the Master's mind and teaching. He nevertheless treats them, His Master's own Sayings, with a very free hand. Nay, more; differentiating between husk and kernel, he essays the task of formulating spiritual conceptions from his own standpoint and with an eye to an environment far different from that of Jesus.² No room is made by him in his

¹ Streeter, *O.S.S.P.*, p. 436.

² If it be objected that, if the case be as stated above, the Servant is greater than his Lord, it might be a sufficient answer to point to the

very noble treatise for eschatological discourses such as those recorded by the Synoptists ; in lieu thereof he offers the prolonged farewell speeches in which still popular beliefs are glanced at, modified and transformed, rejected, by none other than the Christ of his conception. For him the Parousia, not outward and visible, has become unthinkable save only in the loving heart.¹ And so elsewhere : the "hour" which "cometh" is an hour which, having come already, will again come and come again. A great consummation is, indeed, looked for ; the Judgment is nevertheless projected back into the Now of human life, and conceived of as a continuous process whereby evil is separated from the good.² Life eternal, identified with rightly centred knowledge fruitful in its result, no longer belongs exclusively to the hereafter, but is transferred to what, for each one, is time present. Immortality is unconditioned by materialistic theories of a rising from the dead ; the Johannine Christ says : "I am the resurrection and the life." But to state the position briefly : The Eschatological Kingdom, albeit the Kingdom conceived of and proclaimed by Jesus, disappears in the Fourth Gospel ;³ while its author, notwithstanding the fact that his

essentially Jewish environment of One who, "straitened" in His earthly life, was Himself a Jew. Conjecture is altogether idle as to how Jesus would have expressed Himself had His locality and period been other than they were. Cf. Ninck, *Jesus als Charakter*, p. 120.

¹ Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der N.T. Theologie*, ii. pp. 572 ff. "Joh. xiv. 18 f., überträgt die Wiederkunft ins Geistige" (Jahn, *Über die Person Jesu*, 53 note).

² *Kplous*, a separating ; hence, judging, judgment.

³ "Bei Johannes tritt die Reichgottespredigt ganz zurück" (Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 609).

Master had died with the belief in His speedy return in Messianic glory,¹ dwells on the divine Logos as actually present in the life of the world.

Herein he, the Fourth Evangelist, establishes a precedent. Where he leads the way there need be no fear to follow. Let it, accordingly, be said of the Messianism of Jesus that, not the kernel but the husk, not of permanent but of transitory significance, the Apocalyptic ideas and beliefs which embodied it are in no way binding for a later age.

Establishing a precedent, the Fourth Evangelist establishes a principle. For what is he found doing in his own day and generation ;—as best he can with the limitations of his period and himself, as alive to the varied circumstances of his environment? Is it not just this:—he seeks to penetrate beneath the surface, what seems to him eternal in the Eschatological teaching of his Lord is fastened on, he essays to formulate conceptions, and in so doing he is responsive to all that is really exalted in the religious speculation of the age.² The value of his embodiments is, no doubt, relative ; no perennial adequacy can be attributed to them if their rich suggestiveness remains ; as for the details, they belong to things negligible for later ages.³ Lofty are his conceptions

¹ Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, i. p. 50.

² The allusion being to the Johannine writings generally Schmiedel (*E.B.*, ii. 2558) is quick to point out that "they rendered an extraordinary service to their time by absorbing into Christianity, as they did, every element in the great spiritual tendencies of the age that was capable of being assimilated."

³ "The details of Eschatology are always more or less the product of this or that particular age, and therefore negligible for later ages" (Wernle, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 279 f.).

and still uplifting; they nevertheless wear the features of a far-distant epoch; nor is it to be expected that they will completely harmonize with later modes of thought. Perhaps he sometimes missed the mark; in his discernment of the transitory not of necessity infallible, he may not ever seize on what is really permanent with unerring grasp. It matters not. The point is that he affirms and acts upon a principle which the Christianity of to-day, receiving at his hands, may well strive to apply, and on the lines he plainly indicates. Doing this he does much; more he cannot do. Inasmuch as he belongs to his own remote period he cannot, like Greatheart in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, go all the way as present guide.

Let us, then, in like manner to this fearless analyst of his Lord, attempt to penetrate beneath the surface; to extract and set forth those elements in the Eschatology of Jesus which have a present value and significance.

It will be no easy task. Hitherto, it may be, we have been conscious of something more than feelings of reluctance; it goes against the grain to question the infallibility of Jesus. If pain be occasioned to devout souls when some of His recorded utterances are referred by criticism to the piety of early Christians, how much more so when Sayings which criticism accounts genuine in His lips are thrown into the crucible of historical research—only that it may be said of them that they reveal beliefs and conceptions more or less current in His day. The fact remains that what is thus said must be said; and the admission once made, there is comparatively little difficulty in recognizing the husk, in establishing it that the

specifically Apocalyptic Messianism of Jesus could not do otherwise than wax old and vanish away. The real difficulty begins with the search for whatever vital truth may be therein embedded; it is one thing to speak of the kernel, it is quite another thing to realize wherein precisely the kernel consists. Intuitions may rise in the mind as to its real nature; the *crux* then is to give them adequate expression with the terminology to hand. Nor is mere poverty of diction sole cause of apprehension. There is grave danger lest the result of well-intentioned effort be the formation of a new husk which, hiding away the kernel in a mass of modern sophistries, shall prove itself far more intractable than the old?

In any case, we can start with the profound conviction that there must be something essential in the Eschatology of Jesus.¹ The mere fact that it is no new thing in the case of Jesus is significant; the long history which stretches out behind it may ever and again tell of fantastic dreamers and all too human imaginings, yet it is surely no mere barren record of illusions fondly cherished by successive dupes; it would else be hard to account for the heroic faith which, ever strongest when the need is sorest, renews its vitality in the darkest moments of a nation's life.² Inherited from Judaism by Jesus it was no vain thing in His eyes; that far from repudiating it, He appropriated it—not indeed blindly and unreservedly—is proof conclusive that He owned and realized its efficacy in His earthly life. It was, who can doubt it? a legacy bequeathed by Him to His disciples,

¹ So, now, Streeter, *Foundations*, p. 119.

² Kölbing, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

and through them to their successors; once more appropriated—ere long, indeed, disfigured by accretions altogether foreign to His own teaching—it lends a very present inspiration to the early Church. St. Paul transforms it, but he cannot do without it; prominent in his teaching it ever fires his hopes. From earliest days onward it is regarded as inseparable from the Person of the testator; to take over the Eschatology of Jesus is natural to those who own Him Lord.

There must be something of deep moment in all this. If so, it is not something to be lightly parted with; and while, on the one hand, a sense of relief comes with the legitimate abandonment of what is both old and obsolete, out of harmony with present-day conceptions, so, on the other hand, distrust is awakened by attempts ruthlessly to eliminate the eschatological element itself or to explain it away.¹ That in some way or other it was essential to primitive devotion is hard, if not impossible, to deny; the anxious question then is: in what way does it affirm itself indispensable as source of vitality and energy in modern religious life?²

Is it not true to say that the idea embodied in the Eschatology of Jesus—the embodiment belonging to its own day—is that of the ultimate triumph of the cause of God? The idea is so grand that it cannot be other than divine. Because divine, therefore of abiding significance.

¹ Kölbing, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

² "Ist nun die Eschatologie der christlichen Urgemeinde ein wesentliches Element ihrer Frömmigkeit, dann haben wir ernstlich zu erwägen, ob und inwiefern auch sie mit zu den unentbehrlichen Kraftquellen unsers religiösen Lebens gehört" (Kölbing, *op. cit.*, p. 7).

Let the attempt be made to seize on points which, suggested by the grand idea, shall be emphasized however baldly and in fewest words.

The cause of God. What does the word *God* mean to us? "If our belief in God's existence rests upon an assumption, the assumption is more than justified. Reasoning alone does not, perhaps, force us over the last steps; but it carries us all the way up to it, and meets us again when we have taken it. No other theory satisfies all the demands of reason like the Christian theory. If we call it impossible to prove that there is a God, we know it to be much more truly impossible to prove that there is not."¹ But the question is not now whether there be a God or not; His existence presumed, the question is rather this: What God is; He, the "Absolute Spiritual Life,"² the "real, living, present, and spiritual God"³ of Jesus. He is the absolute morality. He is Himself love. As revealed by Jesus⁴ He is "ever-living, ever-loving, ever-active toward"⁵ the whole creation.

¹ Mason, *The Faith of the Gospel*, p. 3. And see Balfour, *Foundations of Belief*, p. 323.

² See Eucken, *The Truth of Religion*, pp. 208 ff.

³ Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 110.

⁴ "Aber wie Gott ist, wissen wir vollkommen erst durch Jesus... Dass Gott Liebe ist, und das allen Menschen die unendliche Huld Gottes zugewendet ist, wissen wir erst, seit Jesus es uns gesagt hat" (Feine, *op. cit.*, p. 185).

⁵ Cf. *Voluntas Dei*, p. 121. It has been tersely said that "von Gott am schönsten spricht, wer von der Fülle des inwendigen Reichtums am besten schweigen kann" (Eckhart, cited by Eucken, *Der Sinn und Wert des Lebens*, p. 132). Prompted by my friend Dr. A. W. Robinson I turn here to Augustine's pregnant words, *De Trin.* ix. 10; *Confess.* i. 5.

What, then, shall be understood by God's cause? Is it not this, the whole creation conformed to what God, being what He is, wills? A high ideal is proposed; in so far as it is grasped by human souls the perception of a sharp contrast between it and the existing order is aroused and quickened; the result being a "divine discontent"; and this is intensified as, by reason of successive "comings" of a revelation of God's ways and purposes, the ideal is more plainly discerned. A "divine discontent" which eliminates all possibility of stagnation. In that it is divine it strikes a note of judgment; stern and uncompromising is its condemnation for whatever is out of harmony with God's order. Once more, because divine it ever raises protest against purely materialistic conceptions of the "good time coming"; it insists that, for the perfect environment, there must be corresponding perfection in all human life.¹ While it makes a demand for human effort it dwells upon human impotency apart from God.²

¹ "It is a significant fact that the free-thought lecturer in our day has given place to the Socialist orator" (Cambridge University Sermon by Dr. C. Julius, Bishop of Christchurch). The fact is not merely significant but in some degree encouraging; yet it is undeniable that the modern Socialist is often victim to "the error of imagining that universal comfort and the Kingdom of God are synonymous" (Burkitt, *C.B.E.*, p. 209). Not so Mr. George Lansbury: "I am perfectly certain of this, that in a mere fight for more bread and butter, without having an ideal in front of you, and without having the religious fervour and enthusiasm that religion gives, it is quite impossible to hope for the reformation of the world" (quoted in *The Modern Churchman*, ii. 5, 209). And see, in particular, Eucken, *Der Sinn und Wert des Lebens*, p. 34.

² "Ere she gain her Heavenly-best, a God must mingle with the game" (Tennyson, *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After*).

The cause of God will ultimately triumph. Which means just this, the realization of the ideal. Or in other words: "the world has a goal, there is a purpose for human existence; life is no mere fleeting moment, it grows, it ripens, it goes forward to its consummation."¹

There is a goal. Thus far certainty; thus far, but no further. Knowledge as to the How, the When, the Where, is not ours. We can but trust. Yet it is, perhaps, a true instinct which refuses so to limit the divine purposes that, while the perfected condition is held to be inconceivable on this earthly stage, the gaze is solely directed to some future world prepared of God for His children where they shall serve Him without hindrance and see Him face to face.² It may be, grave difficulty notwithstanding, that we are helped "to a glimpse of infinity in which the two straight lines of world-affirmation and world-negation meet. To think of the perfection of earth as an aim of God's purpose, and of man as His chosen minister for the accomplishment of that purpose, is a great stimulus to the world-affirming spirit; to think of man's future as a part of an immortal and perfected humanity which has a spiritual destiny in the spiritual consummation of universal life, is to know this world and all its concerns as trivial exceedingly. Yet it is only in the synthesis of these two aims of God's purpose, only in the conception of them as interdependent—the first all-important as a necessary part of the second—that human salvation can

¹ von Soden, *Die wichtigsten Fragen*, p. 79. Cf. Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 97; Duhm, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff.

² So, in effect, Kölbing, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f.

be accomplished. Our Lord seems to have affirmed both the earth-purpose and the final spiritual purpose of the Father, and so difficult is this synthesis to our common minds that much confusion has always arisen in the interpretation of His doctrine of the future. With transcendent insight He seems to have seen that all that was wrong on earth—the existing human state—must be disintegrated, all that was right must blossom and glow into a perfect human polity—the reign of God as in heaven so on earth; while at the same time His ultimate gaze was fixed always upon a spiritual humanity of which He felt Himself to be the shepherd-King, whose destiny was not of this earth.”¹ Once more thought is directed to a transcendent kingdom.

In any case there is ground of trust: “the world passes away;—God and the Christian remain.”²

It has been said that “patient quietism” is “the only possible Christian attitude when we are considering what the nature of the universe may be and what will be the ultimate fate of the human race.” True, no doubt; always assuming that it is the “patient quietism” which, waiting, is resolute to trust. With truth it is added in effect that if “patient quietism” is the one thing possible in a particular case, the attitude of the Christian should otherwise be one of steadfastness in the discharge of present duty as ever responsive to a reiterated “Follow Me” of Jesus.³

¹ *Voluntas Dei*, 186 f. To the same effect Ninck, *Jesus als Charakter*, p. 300.

² An echo from the Leyden Congress of the History of Religions.

³ Burkitt, *C.B.E.*, p. 212 ff. Art. “Nachfolge Christi” in *R.G.G.*, iv. 641. Mrs. Ritchie is very much to the point when (*Man and the*

The "Follow Me" of One who, clothing His mysterious personality in the garb of Jewish Messianism, lays claim to an exalted rôle in the eschatological scheme of His conception. What reflexions are suggested?

It will not do to substitute "a chapter on the history of Jesus" for "the religious understanding of His person and His work."¹ That which He was that He remains: "the mighty personality who not only teaches and demands, but who so compels us to enter into the faith and the love which possessed Him that we both must and can live out His life with Him."² If it held true in the days of His earthly life that where He was, there, in some degree at any rate, the Kingdom was, so it must hold true now; His presence owned in human hearts, and therefore human lives fashioned after His likeness, which, we cannot but believe, is as yet the highest revelation of the likeness of God.³ It will mean His own conviction manifested in the case of those who, the unsolved problem of His Person notwithstanding, are fain to own Him "Lord"; the Kingdom which is to be brought in from above may yet be hastened by rightly-motived and rightly-directed action on the part of His disciples.

Cassock, p. 301) she writes: "Christ said almost nothing about dying; it was always do this or that *now*, never—prepare for death."

¹ Cf. Lobstein, *H.J.*, xi. p. 77.

² Arnold Meyer, *Was uns Jesus heute ist*, p. 42. Feine (*op. cit.*, pp. 184 ff.) writes with warmth on "Die bleibende Bedeutung der Person Jesu."

³ "In seinem eignen Charakter spiegelt sich das Wesen Gottes" (Weidel, *Jesu Persönlichkeit*, p. 27 ff.). Cf. Ninck, *Jesus als Charakter*, p. 368.

So, then, the call comes to all to fit themselves for the Kingdom—whether it be here on earth or in that Hereafter which lies behind the inevitable “catastrophe” of death—and, as “God’s fellow-workers,”¹ to play their part in the accomplishment of these divine purposes which surely take account both of humanity and the environment of man.

Herein, it may be, some word of Jesus in and to the modern world.

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 9. And see Eucken, *The Truth of Religion*, p. 517.

CHAPTER IX.

ESCHATOLOGICAL SURVIVALS IN THE CREEDS.

LOOKING to the main subject of our inquiry, the Eschatology of Jesus, it might be said of the long and winding road which opened out before us at the outset, that it ended with the attempt to differentiate between husk and kernel on which we were engaged in the preceding chapter.

Are there not, however, certain grave considerations which refuse to be ignored?¹ They turn on the fact that a terminology belonging to a remote past, and in part, if not altogether, foreign to present modes of thought, is again and again met with in formularies and vehicles of devotion of long accustomed usage. It accordingly appears desirable—particularly in view of the standpoint from which our subject was to be approached and studied—that some closing pages should be devoted to an examination of the position.

Let us see how the case stands.

To begin with. The Eschatological husk—the old embodiment of the Eschatological idea—is a strongly-marked feature of the hymnodies of Christian

¹ By, at all events, members of the Anglican Communion.

worship. It is not by any means peculiar to familiar Advent hymns.

Again. It needs but a rapid glance at the Book of Common Prayer generally to discern the self-same feature. The first and third Advent collects are in the highest degree significant: "that in the last day when he shall come again in his glorious majesty to judge both the quick and dead, we may rise to the life immortal"; "that at thy second coming to judge the world." Similarly, in the case of the Order for the Visitation of the Sick, with its pointed reference to "the righteous Judge, by whom all must be judged . . . in that fearful judgment." The Burial Service makes mention of "this sinful world," of "the general Resurrection in the last day," of a "Kingdom prepared . . . from the beginning of the world." Central in the Communion Service (in the Prayer of Consecration) is the distinct allusion to a "coming again" of Him whose "precious death" is therein commemorated. "The day of judgment" figures in the Litany; where, by the way, He who is evidently conceived of as the Judge is invoked as "Son of David." The "at the last" of the Morning and the Evening Prayer (in the Absolution) tells its own tale, and so does the contrast (in the Prayer of St. Chrysostom): "this world," "the world to come."

In the third place. The feature so easy of detection in hymnodies and in the Church's Offices generally is prominent in the great Confessions of Faith. Let us now concentrate our attention on Eschatological survivals in the historic Creeds of Christendom.¹

¹ For the history of the Creeds see Artt. in *R.G.G.*; Harnack, *The*

To take first the so-called Apostles' Creed. Of a crucified, risen, ascended Jesus who is seated "at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty," it is therein explicitly asserted: "from thence He shall come¹ to judge the quick and the dead." And the Creed ends by affirming "The Resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting."²

From a Creed which, at no time formally promulgated, gradually won its way to acceptance in the Western Church, we turn to what is emphatically the Creed of Synodical authority. Thus in the so-called Nicene Creed:³ "And He (the ascended and glorified Jesus) shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead: Whose Kingdom shall have no end."⁴ It ends thus: "And I look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come."

Last comes an ancient document of uncertain authorship which, strictly speaking, is not a Creed at all:⁵ "The confession of our Christian faith, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius."

Apostles' Creed; Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*; Swainson, *The Creeds*; Stanley, *History of the Eastern Church*; Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*; Kattenbusch, *Das apos. Symbol*.

¹ "Shall come again at the end of the world." So in the Baptismal Offices and the Order for the Visitation of the Sick.

² "The Resurrection of the flesh, and everlasting life after death" (*ibid.*). Barth (*op. cit.*, p. 238) remarks on "den unglücklichen Ausdruck: Ich glaube eine Auferstehung des *Fleisches*."

³ The one Creed which—the *filioque* clause being, of course, omitted—is officially acknowledged in the Eastern Church.

⁴ But cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24.

⁵ "To be regarded as a Canticle rather than a Creed" (Gore, *Church Congress Report*, 1898).

Therein it is said of this same Jesus who now sits at God's right hand: "from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead." These words follow: "At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give account for their own works. And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting, and they that have done evil into everlasting fire."

Now, it cannot be doubted that hymns and Prayer-Book Offices generally and the great Creeds of Christendom mean practically what they say. It is, further, plain that what they affirm and mean is on the same lines with that which was both said and meant by Jesus; in other words, they reproduce—with near approach to exactness—the language in which He clothed His eschatological conceptions. Once more, it has become plain (as a result of the prolonged inquiry engaged in) that, as in conception so in terminology, He, the earthly Jesus, was child of His own race and period. Yet again, the conclusion has been arrived at that, while the eschatological idea is of permanent and vital import, the manner of its embodiment by Jesus is of transitory significance, foreign to present modes of thought.

Then the question arises: What does fidelity to Christian conscience demand in respect of eschatological statements which, not simply met with in the records of antiquity, are set forth for use, acceptance, and profession in modern Church life?

In so far as they obtain in hymnody they are not occasion of difficulty. The hymnal, whatever it may be, has no other sanction save that of customary and appropriate usage consequent on felicitous innova-

tion ;¹ it is not, that is, imposed by legal authority. The choice of hymns is at discretion ; it is open to individual worshippers to decide whether they acquiesce or not in all and everything contained in the particular hymns selected. They can if they will—some, perhaps, do—remain silent.

To pass on to statements and allusions which, similar in nature, are scattered up and down the Church's formularies as a whole. Here the case is different ; these latter having what the hymnal has not, legal authority at their back ; hence the question at issue cannot be dismissed offhand. Of occasion of difficulty for the laity there is, indeed, practically none whatever ; for—apart from one important point which will come up for separate discussion—it is certainly not exacted of them that they shall render unqualified assent in detail to the vehicles of common prayer and praise. Is it, then, so entirely otherwise with the official ministry that the clergy—more particularly those who, appreciating, are assimilating the New Learning of the period—are in parlous case ? It was, no doubt, otherwise in a comparatively recent past ; since then the position has changed, and in the direction of clerical emancipation²—yet so as to safeguard common rights and

¹ "In Quires and Places where they sing, here followeth the anthem." Recognizing "the anthem," the Prayer-Book appears to draw the line at its own hymns and canticles.

² The old form of subscription ran thus : "I do hereby declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book entitled *The Book of Common Prayer*." But this, with all then existing subscriptions, was swept away in 1865, since which date this form alone is required : "I assent to the xxxix. Articles of Religion and to *The Book of Common Prayer*, and of the

privileges which would be endangered were this or that individual clergyman free to pick and choose, to omit whatever might be distasteful to himself, to add on arbitrarily from extraneous sources. As the case now stands there is, then, small occasion of difficulty for the Church's ministers in regard to the statements and allusions now under consideration. It appears safe to say further that there is no grave reason why individual clergymen should hesitate to use, in their public ministrations, formularies which are loyally accepted by them in the spirit generally, while they decline to be bound by the letter. Nor is it in the slightest degree inconsistent with the qualified assent required of and yielded by them that, using the said formularies for the time being, they should recognize and urge the desirability of modification, and work for the accomplishment of necessary change.¹

ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. I believe the doctrine of the Church of England, as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the Word of God; and in the Public Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, I will use the form in the said Book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority." Taken by itself, the present form is not exactly stringent; read in the light of the form which it superseded, it leaves large room for liberty of opinion, while it refuses to place congregations at the mercy of individual ministers. It may nevertheless be asked "whether this remnant of subscription which is left is still worth keeping." What Stanley (*Article on Subscription*) said in answer to his own question has point to-day: "this depends simply on the question whether it keeps a single member of the Church of England from entering the ministry. If it did, I maintain seriously and solemnly that it would be entirely unworthy of the Church to keep such a rag and tatter of a state of things which has been proved utterly indefensible."

¹ In aggressive defiance, if need be, of occasional obscurantist majorities in Convocation. And here let it be said that, not only granting but

Yet doubt certainly arises whether that which holds good in the case of hymnody and scattered Prayer-Book phraseology is of equal validity when eschatological statement and allusion point to ancient Symbols which are an integral portion of the formularies of the Church. "The case is widely different when he (the officiating minister) ceremonially turns to the East, and leads the congregation in the declaration of their fundamental beliefs."¹

Here, then, is the *crux*; nor may the question at issue be narrowed down to isolated credal statements. It is really this: how does the case stand in regard to the prescribed acceptance and recitation of the Creeds as a whole?

There is a preliminary question: which Creeds fall for consideration?

Three are specified as such.² But, as has been remarked already, one of the three specified is, properly speaking, not a Creed at all. If the so-called "Creed of St. Athanasius" "has acquired for itself a throne of authority beside the venerable Apostles' and Nicene Creeds"³ it is in defiance of antiquity, nor is there shred of authority in its earlier

asserting the necessity of penetrating Prayer-Book revision, it were better to retain the Prayer-Book as it is (with full liberty of historical interpretation) than run the risk of being tied and bound by a "Revised Prayer-Book" which was offspring of the mediaevalist, not to say of puerile and timorous minds.

¹ Callaway, *H.J.*, xi. p. 197. It is only fair to add that Mr. Callaway, in his complaint of "unveracity," by no means confines himself to the question of the Creeds.

² "The three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed" (Art. viii.).

³ Page Roberts, *Our Prayer-Book—Conformity and Conscience*, p. 214.

history for that congregational use which is nowhere prescribed for it to-day save only in the Church of England.¹ Nothing stands in the way of deprecating the manner of its present use; no one need hesitate to agitate for its dismissal—or for some method of its use less calculated to strike jarring notes;² pending some happy revision of enactment there need be no scruple in supplementing its recitation by the historical criticism of its contents. But the point now is that, whatever may have been the method of its use, it never was a test of Church communion.³ It is not such a test in the one Church which still, unhappily and in defiance of antiquity, allows it on stated occasion to displace the Apostles' Creed.⁴ "No man can be excluded from baptism, from confirmation, or from Holy Communion because he will not profess"⁵ the "Athanasian Creed" of popular misnomer.

Inasmuch, then, as this document is more properly regarded as an elaborate and relatively learned treatise or exposition,⁶ it would appear that two

¹ The Church of Ireland, retaining it in the Prayer-Book, has wisely expunged the rubrics ordering its use. It appears to have been formally rejected by the Episcopal Church of America.

² Looking to some of its contents it might serve a useful purpose were it occasionally read out as an ancient "treatise," and, as such, commented on.

³ "It has never been used as a test of Church Communion" (*Lux Mundi*, p. 260).

⁴ Cf. Swainson, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

⁵ Page Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

⁶ It is not exactly "the barbarous production of a barbarous age" (Earl Grey, *Speech in the House of Lords, March 13th, 1871*). Burkitt (*Two Addresses*, p. 40) describes it as "the most reflective and scientific exposition of the Christian idea of God in relation to man."

Creeds only fall for consideration. As for the one, the Creed of Nicaea-Constantinople, it is placed in the lips of all who participate in the Club-feast of the Christian Church; and, qualification presumed, the Churchman is expected to be a communicant.¹ The other (and herein the important point of a previous allusion) is of the nature of a test. Whatever be the situation in regard to "the Creed of St. Athanasius" and the Creed of the Communion Service, the so-called Apostles' Creed is subject of provisions and directions which touch clergy and laity alike.²

Here, with the two Creeds, the rub begins. With the "I" which stands at the head of both³ the personal equation is accentuated in an individualized profession. Nor is this all; in the case of one an "all this I steadfastly believe" is explicitly or implicitly exacted in regard to asseverations which, therein contained, all are expected to recite. Some, no doubt, recite them with the complacency of thoughtless indifference; if others, again, are untroubled it is because of intellectual limitation; elsewhere, and with many a devout soul, whole-hearted recitation issues from an unquestioning faith.⁴ The fact remains that no

Yet it does not follow that the "exposition" is suited to general recitation.

¹ There is cause for regret that the rubric which requires "that every parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year" accentuates not so much the idea of privilege as that of compulsion.

² In that it is the Creed of Baptism, of the Catechism, of the Daily Prayer, of the Visitation of the Sick.

³ Originally in the Symbolum Constantinopol, πιστεύομεν; "We." I am reminded by my friend Professor Niebergall that the plural form ("Wir glauben") is still in use in Württemberg.

⁴ *Fides implicita*. The child-like disposition which is content to receive and to assent without evidence or explanation. For some apt

small number of sincerely religious minds, reflecting that the respective clauses of the Creeds (in the letter, at any rate) are largely out of harmony with present modes of thought, are profoundly conscious of a gulf between their own inward religious convictions and the outward form which they are required to accept and profess.¹ Thus in regard to "articles" which, more particularly subject of inquiry, are, after all, fraught with relatively small difficulty.² It is one thing to expect a life beyond the grave and to be persuaded of the ultimate triumph of the cause of God. It is quite another thing to be committed—if committed one be—to eschatological survivals which are suggestive of human bodies raised from land and sea, and of a cataclysmic return of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven.³ Truth, men say to themselves, is not exactly corner-stone and fabric, as it

allusions to the several types of mind instanced, see *Life of George Tyrrell*, ii. p. 185.

¹ "Einst haben die Väter ihren eigenen Glauben bekannt, jetzt hingegen müht man sich ab, ihre Bekenntnisse zu glauben. Mit dem Apostel konnten sie sprechen: Ich glaube, darum predige ich; jetzt aber hat sich bei vielen auch dieses umgekehrt zum stillen Geständnis: Ich bin ein Prediger, Theologe, Gemeindeglied, darum glaube ich oder muss mich bemühen zu glauben" (Alexander Schweizer, *Geistliche Glaubenslehre*, i. p. iii, Leipzig, 1863).

² "The 'article' of the Apostles' Creed which nowadays is really most called in question by serious people is not 'Descended into Hell,' or even 'Born of the Virgin Mary,' but 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth'" (Burkitt, *Two Addresses*, p. 40). In like manner Streeter, *Foundations*, p. ix. The "articles" here in question might be included in the salutary reminder.

³ Percy Gardner, "A Modern Reading of the Nicene Creed" (*Modern Churchman*, I. x. p. 575). Professor Gardner's four articles should be read with the attention they demand.

ought to be, of what are not simply ancient and interesting documents but Creeds set forth for profession.

Is it not intentional fidelity to the Christian conscience that prompts what is in effect an "Entweder-oder": "Shall we avow our disagreement, or shall we conform?"¹

But is there no other alternative? Is it really the case that the sole choice rests between the smothering of common honesty or the wrench of a goodbye to Church fellowship? There is surely a possibility that liberalism can so go hand in hand with loyalty that avowal of disagreement and conformity may exist in combination. And besides, what if conformity may be legitimately requisitioned in another quarter!

Meanwhile let it be remarked that an appeal lies to the Church;—here, as generally in this chapter, to "that pure and reformed part of it established in this Kingdom";² in other words, the Church of England.

Now, it is said of the Creeds that they "ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."³ And, whatever weight may be attached to the former of the two statements, no one can doubt for a moment that the second is generally true to fact. While the Creeds themselves are not contained in Holy Scripture, their several "articles"

¹ Chawner, *Prove all Things*, p. 12.

² The Bidding Prayer, as it precedes sermons preached before the University at Great St. Marys', Cambridge.

³ Art. viii.

rest upon a Scriptural basis if they be not actually expressed in Bible words.

Then two points at the least demand attention. They shall be stated in fewest words.

To begin with. In the mind of the Church, so it would appear, no inherent sanctity attaches to the Creeds. Not in themselves objects of superstitious veneration, they are subordinated to that sacred literature from which their authority is said to be ultimately derived.

In the second place. The statement generally so true to fact is child of its own period. It belongs to days when the Bible was generally regarded as immaculate, infallible, oracular; in its every line and syllable "the most true word" of God Himself.

The two points duly noted, a third suggests itself. Not the less significant for the laity because of its more immediate reference to the clergy, it occurs in the Ordinal. A solemn question is put at a solemn moment: "Will you be diligent in . . . reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same . . .?"¹

What, then, is the mind of the Church? Unquestionably this, that knowledge is indispensable for the minister of the Church; and that he, the minister, is not to rest content with whatever "little learning" he may possess at Ordination. It is plainly said in effect that, if the clergy cannot all attain to ripe scholarship, they are nevertheless pledged to be "a learned and learning body."² Nowhere, be it added, is it laid down that the study so imperatively

¹ The Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests.

² Hensley Henson, *Sincerity and Subscription*, p. 35.

required of the clergy is neither demanded, expected, nor permitted in the case of the laity. On the contrary, it might be a safe inference that, if the Church requires sound learning of its officers, it is in order that they may be more than abreast of the learning welcomed by it and encouraged in the case of all.

The clergy were, and are, told to be students. Neither is there let or hindrance for the student-layman. As of old, so now, the subject here specially proposed for study are the Holy Scriptures. Significant in the past and significant in the modern world are the words which speak of "studies" which "help to a knowledge of the same."

Two considerations. And first, it is absolutely inconceivable that a Church thus minded should preclude the new result or pin its members down to opinions and beliefs which may be discounted and discredited by the very studies contemplated and enforced by it.¹ Secondly, there is no question that a result of that investigation which the Church itself postulates is that the Holy Scriptures on which the Creeds are based are to-day inevitably regarded from a changed stand-point. Its value thereby enhanced, the Bible has ceased to be the infallible book.²

The position, in short, is this. It cannot any longer be said of the Creeds that they are therefore true

¹ "We are all aware now that to dictate to knowledge the result at which it is to arrive is to make knowledge impossible" (Harnack, *Thoughts on Protestantism*, p. 24).

² The stringent question: "Do you unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments?" is a survival which should disappear from the Ordinal.

because the Bible affirms them to be true. What might be said is that, if the passages of Holy Scripture on which they hinge stand the test of critical investigation, they are true ; not otherwise. Only on such an assumption ought they "thoroughly to be received and believed."

So that the former of the two statements of the Article relative to the Creeds may very fairly be read and interpreted in the light of what appears to be the mind of the Church as expressed in the demand made for the systematic study of those Holy Scriptures on which, as it is affirmed, the Creeds are based. And as fairly may it be said also that, implicitly if not explicitly, the idea of finality as attaching to the Creeds—and here the history of the Creeds is in the highest degree suggestive—is repudiated.

Now, if the case stands thus (and apparently it does stand thus), it can argue no disloyalty if what follows be affirmed of the Creeds from the standpoint of liberal opinion.

In the first place. The relative value of the ancient Creeds is surely beyond question. Ignorance may refer them to pious enthusiasts, and see in their contents the mere vapourings of credulity ; not so the informed student. The only possible verdict is that, illustrating a relatively profound scholarship, they are offspring of the keenest and best-equipped intellects of their period, and represent the highest knowledge to which their age had attained. They tell of grave and anxious questions which were faced, and settled to ability, by men of singularly robust and vigorous minds.

Secondly. Regarded historically, the Creeds have no small claim to that reasoned veneration which is untinged by superstition. In their own day receptacles of inward forces,¹ they have still a real value; nor is it only in the fact that, precious links with the past,² they mark out the line of future progress in the right direction. It is a true appreciation which pauses to reflect "how wonderful it is that (documents) drawn up under such conditions and in such an intellectual atmosphere can yet, after so many centuries, in a measure express the beliefs and hopes of the Church."³

In the third place. If the ancient Creeds are expressive of such beliefs and hopes, it is only "in a measure," and with necessity of, to say the least, re-interpretation. Great truths are, no doubt, affirmed in them; as for the embodiment, it is that of a remote period, and, such being the case, it is not to be expected that it shall forever serve the purpose. No one can, indeed, "forget that the critical moments in the composition of the Creeds were in the fourth and fifth centuries, and that they have never been revised or corrected since. It is impossible that the thought and language of those centuries should exactly coincide with the genuine, spontaneous, unbiassed, scientific—or that aims at being scientific—thought and language of the present day."⁴ And just because of this the terminology of the Creeds is often felt to be occasion of real difficulty. A

¹ Wernle, *Einführung in das Theol. Studium*, p. 451.

² Cf. Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

³ Percy Gardner, *Modern Churchman*, I. xi. p. 637.

⁴ Sanday, *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, p. 237.

difficulty not entirely surmounted by the adoption, so general,¹ of a principle of symbolic interpretation which, not unreasonable in itself, is by no means inconsistent with the mind of the Church.

Such, then, is the point of view from which liberalized thought cannot but approach, regard, and speak of the historic Creeds. Not merely compatible with loyalty, it is not too much to say of it that, where there is truest loyalty, it is the point of view demanded; in fullest accord with a petition of noble significance for continuous inspiration by the spirit of truth.² And it is altogether incredible that it should be so utterly at variance with the mind of the Church, that those whose point of view it is, should hear it said to them that they have forfeited their right to a place within the Church's ranks.

But that strongly individualistic "I believe"; is it possible for those whose attitude to the Creeds is of such sort to take it upon their lips? It is a question for the individual conscience. No doubt some would argue (and in all sincerity) that difficulty vanishes, or very nearly vanishes, as, for the moment, their identity is merged in the Church.³ Others, again, think differently. "Let each man be fully assured in his own mind;"⁴ ever slow to impugn the veracity of others.

Yet it might not be invidious to ask: is it not, in the circumstances, a morbid criticism which, because

¹ It would be true to say that, as with the Church's formularies *en bloc* so with the Creeds, were literal interpretation felt to be of obligation, the exodus bound to ensue would be next door to complete.

² Prayer for the Church Militant.

³ To this effect Sanday, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁴ Rom. xiv. 5.

of disagreement with the form, has no option but to withdraw from lay or official communion with the Church?

In the circumstances. The Church itself is in the main an open-minded Church. If, on the one hand, it can justly require the rational and loyal allegiance of its members whether lay or cleric, so, on the other hand, a demand on their part is perfectly legitimate—and, indeed, necessitated by a regard to grave issues¹—that, if and in so far as its prescribed formularies be really out-worn and obsolete, the principle of conformity to ascertained results shall be illustrated by the Church itself.² But here, even while the demand is made, it cannot but be recognized and allowed that immediate compliance with the demand, if within the province, is outside the capacity of the Church. To begin with, “No provision is made for the case of a formulary being itself at fault, or requiring alteration in the light of ampler knowledge and research.”³ And again: rightly is it urged that “What the fathers accomplished in and for their own times, that it behoves the men of this generation to take in hand and strive to do”;⁴ as rightly is it asserted in another

¹ The serious risk lest the Church be “drained of intellectual vigour” (J. R. Seeley, *Natural Religion*, p. 136).

² “If the clergy are to be induced to study, and not merely deliver a formal message, and if they are required to bring the conclusions of their study into harmony with the formularies of the Church, as it is right that they should, then those formularies themselves must be revised, wherever they conflict with modern knowledge” (Beeching, *Oxford University Sermon*, October 27th, 1912).

³ Randall Thomas Davidson, *The Character and Call of the Church of England*, p. 53.

⁴ A. Fischer, *Das sogenannte Apos. Glaubensbekenntnis* (edited by Kautzsch), p. 18.

quarter, and with pointed allusion to the will of God : " Twentieth-century Christianity is in duty bound to express the Christian faith in terms of *its own* thought and *its own* speech." ¹ Yet it is just here that doubt arises whether the "new wine-skins" of adequate, and necessarily symbolic, diction be available at the present juncture for the "new wine" of newly-apprehended truth.² They await construction. No doubt, when constructed, they will be generally sufficient³ for their day ; it will nevertheless be then, as ever, realized that the infinite refuses to be confined within a terminology of earthly coinage. In their turn they will become antiquated.⁴ And it may be that a time will

¹ Wernle, *Einführung in das Theol. Studium*, p. 334.

² A doubt which is certainly not laid by a perusal whether of Professor Symond's (of Toronto) "Creed for Students" (*Modern Churchman*, I. viii. p. 412), of "Das christliche Glaubensbekenntnis" as sketched by Jahn (*Über die Person Jesu*, p. 251), or of the "Bekenntnis" recently proposed for adoption by Brückner (*Neue Preuss. Zeitung*, No. 203). Yet the fact of their composition is as certainly to be welcomed as a sign of that religious vitality which is so evident in a recent Memorandum of a Committee of the Established Church of Scotland. It is therein declared to be "an inherent right of a Church to frame or adopt her subordinate standards, to declare the sense in which she understands the same, to modify them from time to time, and to define her relation thereto ; always in conformity with the Word of God and with due regards to the liberty of the individual conscience." No small interest, by the way, attaches to the movement inaugurated by Prof. Smend of Strassburg and Prof. Otto of Göttingen in favour of the alternative use of the "Lutherlied" in its shorter form (see *Christliche Welt*, Nos. 13 and 39).

³ "Doubtless no combination of words will ascertain an unity of sentiment in those who adopt them, but one form is more adapted for the purpose than another" (J. H. Newman, *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, p. 147).

⁴ See A. J. Balfour, *Foundations of Belief*, p. 261.

come when, inasmuch as "technicality and formalism are, in their degree, inevitable results of public confessions of faith,"¹ an ideal Church will rejoice in its freedom from what cannot be otherwise than imperfect Creeds.²

But meanwhile the question is not of the ideal Church, but, in particular, of a branch of the Universal Church that now is, in which—unlike certain other Christian bodies³—Creeds are in actual use while not, so it would appear, regarded as in themselves sacrosanct.

The situation has been surveyed. What conclusion shall be arrived at in view of circumstances which undoubtedly exist? Are they not suggestive of varied and grave difficulty which points not simply to individuals but to the Church itself?

It may be opined⁴ that—in and because of the existing circumstances—there is not of necessity either, on the one hand, a running counter to the Church's mind, or, on the other hand, a smothering of conscience, in that qualified conformity which, in its recitation of the Creeds, is unhesitating in its

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36f. To the same effect, perhaps, Schleiermacher: "Ein Bekenntnis ist entweder schädlich oder überflüssig." In this connection the chapter on "The Religion of the Utopians" in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* is very much to the point.

² Jowett, *Life*, ii. p. 87. Rainy, quoted by W. A. Curtis (*History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith*), appears to think that it would be better to do without Creeds than to be always rebuilding them.

³ For some account of the situation as it points to Germany and Switzerland see Wernle, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Goetz, *Das apos. Glaubensbekenntnis*. The latter author is apparently without knowledge of the prescriptions of the Anglican Church.

⁴ As, of course, an individual expression of opinion.

acceptance of contained truth¹ while frank to avow² justifiable disagreement with the outward form.³ "Let it suffice that, by subscribing to the Creed as a whole, the man declares himself heart and soul a Christian."⁴

¹ The suggestion shall be thrown out that the "All this I steadfastly believe" might be re-cast in terms of the "What dost thou chiefly learn" of the Question in the Church Catechism. Lahusen's devotional Expositions (*Das apos. Glaubensbekenntnis für unsere Zeit*) are suggestive. Treating of the same subject Wilhelm Meyer strikes a bolder note.

² In such manner as the individual may deem to be imperative.

³ It is difficult to conceive the case of a layman being successfully repelled from Holy Communion because his conformity is of such a nature. Neither is it exactly within the range of probability that, in the present situation, individual clergymen should be subjected to legal proceedings (as distinguished from the arbitrary withdrawal of episcopal license) for the adoption of the like attitude in their reasoned expositions of the respective "articles" of the Creeds. Yet were this to happen "history," very likely, would "repeat itself"; and "the Church of England, guarded by the decisions of lawyers, be kept sufficiently open to admit the gradual infusion of rational belief" (*Life of Sir James Fitz-James Stephen*, p. 190). And again: "heresy-hunters" would conceivably hesitate to institute proceedings at the risk of a Judgment which, if it actually decided against the defendant, might make cynical allusion to obscurantist members of a paralyzed Church.

⁴ Sanday, "The Obligation of the Creeds," *Independent Review*, I. i. p. III.

To revert, in a few last words, to the complicated subject which has occasioned the foregoing reflexions on the Creeds.

With truth is it said of Eschatology: it is persistent inasmuch as absolute perfection is not yet attained.¹ It will persist, no doubt, in other form and as ever and again invested with a new garb; its embodiment transitory, the idea is of vital significance.² On the one hand the warning sounds that "anxious retrospectiveness" must inevitably tend to paralysis in all human life.³ On the other hand a note is rung out which compels and encourages the "stretching forward," not of passive, but of active trust;⁴ hope incites to effort;⁵ great thoughts lend inspiration. Men learn to labour and to wait; in utter confidence that absolute perfection—as yet far off and beyond all capacity of present

¹ "Die Eschatologie vergeht nicht, weil das Vollkommene noch nicht erreicht ist" (Schlatter, *Theol. des N. T.*, p. 483).

² " 'Tis the immortal thought
Whose passion still
Makes of the changing
The unchangeable." (De la Mare, *The Listeners*.)

³ "An institution is healthy in proportion to its independence of its own past, to the confident freedom with which it alters itself to meet new conditions" (J. R. Seeley, *Natural Religion*, p. 217).

⁴ τοῖς δὲ ἐμπροσθεν ἐπεκτεινόμενος (Phil. iii. 14). Oculus manum, manus pedem praevertit et trahit. Bengel, *in loc.*

⁵ "Hoffnung haben, ist Arbeit für die Zukunft" (Naumann, *Gotteshilfe*, p. 8).

apprehension—must nevertheless one day be realized in the full and final triumph of the cause of God.

Then, if the point be seized that He who places Himself within the circumference of the eschatological scheme of His conception both identifies Himself with God's cause and illustrates it, it will be possible at least to enter into the spirit breathed in very noble words :

He is gone—toward their goal
World and Church must onward roll ;
Far behind we leave the past ;
Forward are our glances cast :
Still His words before us range
Through the ages, as they change :
Wheresoe'er the truth shall lead,
He will give whate'er we need.¹

¹ A. P. Stanley.

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY



136 742

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY